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DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

PRIMER ON COMMUNISM

A FACT-BY-FACT EXPOSÉ

prepared by
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH

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Freedom is more than a word. It is a deeply cherished belief in the essential importance of the person and in the supremacy of a society which respects and safeguards the eminent dignity and integrity of personality.

Freedom is a creative spirit that summons the energies of all men to the task of building the kind of community, the kind of nation, the kind of world in which they want to live. It is a dream of a world in which all men, women, and children are encouraged to grow to their fullest—physically, mentally, spiritually—so that they may fulfill the great promise of their inner potential.

But freedom is more than a belief or a dream. Freedom is also a process; as such it is concerned with means as with ends, seeking through democratic methods to create the good society.

The education of free men to understand their proper role in a free society is basic to such a process. To this task the **FREEDOM PAMPHLET** Series is dedicated.

PRIMER ON

COMMUNISM

A FACT-BY-FACT EXPOSÉ

Revised Edition

Prepared by

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH

This pamphlet in the Freedom Pamphlet Series was prepared by a staff committee of the Anti-Defamation League, headed by Dr. Joseph L. Lichten.

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FOREWORD

This is a primer on communism.

As with scores of books, tracts and articles in which the printed word is serving freedom's cause in the present ideological conflict, this pamphlet is enlisted in defense of American democracy.

But why a primer . . . a book of definitions?

It is an uncomfortable truth that the intensity and volubility which characterize our present approach to the Communist problem—is there a more sustained topic in the press or on the air, in the halls of Congress or at our dinner tables?—is exceeded only by the weight of ignorance and misinformation surrounding it.

That Americans are aware of the threat of communism is a wholesome condition; that not enough of us have a "working" knowledge of its features and characteristics and its historical background, is unwholesome. For the danger of world-wide Communist domination is aggravated and compounded by adroit opportunists who labor furiously to exploit anti-communism, in order to subvert and destroy the very principles which distinguish Democracy from Communism and Fascism. These opportunists trade on ignorance and misinformation, trying to mislead the nation into believing that American patriotism consists solely of hatred of Communism. Fight Communism, yes; but love Democracy more. The Bill of Rights and the Constitution were too dearly won to be surrendered to the Trojan Horses of totalitarianism.

The tyranny of Soviet rule is no longer hidden. But what of communism in theory? What of its principles? What of the language it speaks and the meaning of its own brand of semantics? How many Americans comprehend—and how many more are

bewildered—when the Communist speaks of such things as “dialectical materialism”?

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, as an organization dedicated to the American ideal and to the continuing security and welfare of the Jewish community in America, has long recognized the incompatibility of communism with the moral concepts of Judaism and the political concepts of democratic America. Hence, our sponsorship of this pamphlet. It presents no formulae, interprets no theories, argues no briefs. It deals in facts. And it is presented to the learner (it was written for those who want to learn, not read) in question and answer form.

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
National Director

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PART I

COMMUNISM IN THE FREE WORLD

THE COMMUNIST PROGRAM

What is Communism?

The term "communism" was coined in the 1830's in the secret revolutionary societies of Paris. Originally, it meant the belief in, and practice of, common ownership, use, and disposition of property.

In that sense, communism then signified a protest against existing social evils and injustice. It represented an ancient religious and utopian ideal of a social system free of economic and social inequality and political oppression. In that sense, too, it is synonymous with socialism, a term also coined *before* Marx, in 1827 in the Owenite *Cooperative Magazine*. This term was used at first to describe the beliefs and experiments of the idealistic social reformers Robert Owens, François Fourier and Claude Saint-Simon among others.

But communism did not long remain an eloquent protest and visionary social ideal. It acquired a systematic program and a flexible strategy. It became organized as a world-wide revolutionary movement. And it culminated finally in a new, odious, totalitarian social system embodied first in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, subsequently in the empire created by the Soviet Union in Europe, and finally in China and its satellites in Asia. The specter of militant, aggressive Soviet communism now haunts the world.

Who Formulated the Basic Doctrines of Modern Communism?

Until Marx's death the basic doctrines of modern communism were formulated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in collaboration, and then by Engels alone until his own death late in the nineteenth

century. To distinguish their ideas from those of their utopian socialist predecessors and contemporaries, Marx and Engels called their theories "scientific" socialism. But "scientific" socialism, to them, meant communism, and the first organization they founded was named the Communist League. Its declaration of aims was stated in the *Communist Manifesto*.

In addition to Marxism (so called because Marx is considered to have contributed more significantly than Engels to the formulation), others have helped shape the basic doctrines of modern communism. Among these later contributions, the most important were made by the Bolshevik leader and founder of the Soviet state in Russia, Nikolai Lenin. Lenin's theoretical ideas are usually called Leninism and the entire body of communist doctrine is now customarily called Marxism-Leninism.

However, when the theoretical ideas of Josef Stalin, Soviet dictator, are included, the designation "Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism" is employed.

What Is Marxism?

The theory of Marxism comprises three principal doctrines: the theories of "historical materialism," "surplus value," and the "class struggle."

What Is Historical Materialism?

The materialist conception of history, generally called "historical materialism," holds that the nature of the political institutions and intellectual life of society are determined by the economic forces which are their foundation. And the history of civilization, in the Marxism view is, primarily, a series of social systems — asiatic society, chattel slavery, feudalism, capitalism — each based on a particular method of exploitation of labor and each divided into exploiting and exploited, ruling and opposed classes.

What Is Dialectical Materialism?

Dialectical materialism is the communists' term for their theory of social change. It comes from a concept adapted from a German philosopher, Hegel.

According to dialectical materialism, every force in the life of a society brings into existence an opposing force. From the inevitable clash between the two, results a third force combining elements of both original forces. In this way, Marx believed that capitalism produces within itself the seeds of its own destruction — revolt among its workers — and that out of this conflict would come eventually a new force, the communist society.

What Is the Theory of Surplus Value?

According to this theory, 1) labor is the sole creator of value; 2) the wages labor receives represent less than the total value it creates; and 3) the value created by labor in excess of its wages (i.e., the surplus value) is appropriated by the capitalist who thereby exploits labor. This, according to Marxism, is the root cause of the major inequalities and evils of capitalist society.

What Is the Theory of the Class Struggle?

"The history of all human society, that is all written history, past and present," declares the *Communist Manifesto*, "has been the history of class struggles."

"The class struggle is a 'perpetual warfare' which is 'sometimes masked' and 'sometimes open and acknowledged,' between 'oppressor and oppressed,' exploiting and exploited classes.

In the past, the class struggle "invariably ended either in a revolutionary change in the whole structure of society, or else in the common ruin of the contending classes."

Marx held that this is bound to happen to capitalist society as well.

What Outcome of the Class Struggle in Capitalist Society Did Marx Foresee?

In his view, the class struggle in a capitalist society would culminate in a proletarian revolution. The revolution would be, ultimately, world-wide in scope and would be violent in nature.

"The communists" says the *Manifesto*, "disdain to conceal their views and aims." They "openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

Do Communist Aims Include Overthrow of the Government by Force and Violence?

Yes. In Marxian theory, the capitalist state is the organized power of the exploiting class. Its functions are 1) the perpetration of the economic system on which it is founded, and therefore 2) the suppression of the exploited class. Regardless of its form, Marxism holds, whether monarchy, republic, or corporate state, the capitalist state is a dictatorship of the capitalist class over the working class.

Such being the case, the working class, said Marx, cannot use "the available ready machinery of the state and set it going for its own ends." The working class must seize power through revolution, smash the capitalist state, and crush the resistance of the capitalists. Then, "organized as the ruling class," it can proceed to the eventual building of a communist society.

In 1872 Marx modified his original position by admitting that peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism might take place in England, the United States, and perhaps Holland. Lenin, however, stated that violence is necessary everywhere for the transition. Lenin's position is the official view of the communist international.

What Was Marx's View of Communist Society?

Marx believed that in a communist society the means of production and exchange would be socially owned and the exploitation of man by man who would be eliminated. Hence, the state and all forms of political coercion would be unnecessary and non-existent. The character of man would be transformed through the elimination of self-interest as the primary motive of social conduct and through the free development of individual human personality based on the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Thereby would be opened a new and fruitful epoch in the progress of humanity. The earlier or "lower phase" of the future society, in which economic inequality and the state would still exist, Marx called "socialism."

What Is the Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

"Between the capitalist and communist systems of society," Marx

wrote in 1875, "lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period whose state can be nothing else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

By "dictatorship of the proletariat," he meant a dictatorship of the working class over the defeated capitalists, landlords, and other "exploiters." Like other seers he was vague about the time his prophecy would be fulfilled. He did not predict how long the transformation from capitalism to communism would take, nor how long the dictatorship of the proletariat would last. But he thought that as socialism was realized the need for the state would disappear and it would "wither away."

Do All Socialists Accept Marx's Views?

No. Beginning in the 1890's, another current of ideas became predominant in the thinking of socialists. The central doctrine of this current, known as "revisionism" because of the revision of Marx's ideas on which it was based, held that the working class could achieve its rightful place by peaceful means — through elections — and construct socialism gradually and democratically. These ideas became the cornerstone of democratic socialism as distinguished from communism.

The best-known non-Marxist application of these ideas took place in England, following the victory of the Labor Party in the general election of 1945. There, as in several other western European countries, democratic socialism has come to be regarded as a constructive force for individual freedom and against all forms of totalitarianism.

What Is Leninism?

Lenin revived, changed and developed Marx's ideas. The most important contributions made by Lenin to Marxist doctrine are his theories of "imperialism" and "revolutionary defeatism" and his conception of the nature and role of the communist party.

What Is Lenin's Theory of Imperialism?

This theory, formulated before the establishment of the Soviet Union, held that the world's resources were monopolized by giant

capitalist combines and cartels and that the world was divided among the great powers.

Lenin believed that this signified the highest stage of capitalist development and that capitalism, as a world system, had exhausted its possibilities of progressive development and was in decline.

The present epoch, he concluded, was one of wars among the imperialist powers for the redivision of the world, of national revolutions by colonial peoples and oppressed nations for freedom, and of proletarian revolutions for the overthrow of capitalism.

What Is "Revolutionary Defeatism"?

"Revolutionary defeatism" is a means of promoting revolution during wartime. It is based on the Marxian idea that, under capitalism, workers have no fatherland and owe no allegiance to their own governments.

"Revolution in wartime is civil war," wrote Lenin, who believed that it was necessary to "transform imperialist war into civil war."

The "transformation of war between governments," he said, is "facilitated by military reverses ('defeats') . . ."

He considered it an "axiom" that "a revolutionary class in a reactionary war cannot but desire the defeat of its government." And, he added, ". . . revolutionary action in wartime against one's own government undoubtedly and incontrovertibly means not only desiring its defeat, but really facilitating such defeat" not, however, as he explained, by individual acts of sabotage, but by revolutionary mass action in the form of strikes and demonstrations.

[Lenin's conception of the revolutionary party is described in Chapter II, *The Communist Movement*.]

What Theoretical Contributions Did Stalin Formulate?

In the fundamentals of communist doctrine, Stalin is an orthodox Marxist and Leninist. His theoretical contributions consist of adaptations of the ideas of his predecessors to the situations he confronted. He is noted mainly for his theory of "socialism in one country";

and also for his conceptions of the relations of the Soviet Union and the capitalist world, and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What Is the Theory of Socialism In One Country?

This theory, projected in 1924, after a whole series of revolutions in Europe had been defeated, asserts that the construction of socialist society in a single country is possible.

"We can build socialism," Stalin wrote "... for we possess ... all the requisites for the building of a complete socialist society by ... our own efforts."

But like his master, Lenin, Stalin saw the U.S.S.R. as encircled by hostile capitalist states awaiting a favorable opportunity to attack it. Should an attack materialize, it would, of course, prevent the construction of a socialist society.

Therefore, Stalin held that for the "final victory of socialism," there was necessary a "complete guarantee against attempted intervention and restoration of capitalism" in the U.S.S.R. And this could be achieved only by the support of the Soviet Union by the "workers of all countries, and still more the victory of these workers in at least several countries ..."

These ideas, according to Stalin, were held by Lenin. Actually, however, they contradict Lenin's views on this matter.

What Is the Communist Conception of the Relation of the Soviet Union to the Free World?

At times, Stalin and his successors have reaffirmed Lenin's well-known pronouncement:

"We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states; and it is inconceivable that the Soviet republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable."

Similarly, the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, held in 1928, declared,

"The Soviet Union harbors no illusion as to the possibility of

durable peace ... Wars of proletarian dictatorship against world capitalism are inevitable and revolutionary ..."

On other occasions the opposite view has been voiced. For example, Stalin told Elliott Roosevelt in an interview in 1946 that he believed it "wise and entirely within the bounds of realization ... for a democracy, such as the United States, to live side by side in peace in this world with a Communist form of government, such as that of the Soviet Union."

After Stalin's death, Khrushchev, Bulganin, Marshall Zhukov and other leaders expressed similar opinions. Nevertheless, the *basic* position of Lenin and Stalin still prevails, according to which the two systems cannot coexist. Any apparent revision is motivated by expediency to win sympathy for the Soviet government and its "peace policy."

What Was Stalin's Conception of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

Stalin accepted the Marxian theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but revised the doctrine that as socialism comes into being the state will wither away.

The Stalin constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, adopted in 1936, proclaimed the achievement of socialism in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the state showed no sign of withering. In fact, as was evident in the great purges which were in full swing when the constitution was adopted, the state was a terroristic autocracy.

Stalin tried to explain the difference between Marxist theory and Soviet reality. As long as the Soviet Union is encircled by a hostile capitalist world with aggressive designs on the U.S.S.R., he said, the Soviet state must increase its coercive powers; it will wither away only when the capitalist environment of Soviet society is replaced by a communist environment.

The upshot of these and related ideas, in the words of Professor Calvin B. Hoover, has been that

"In the metamorphosis from the original doctrines of socialism, which has made of the Soviet system a totalitarian and autocratic state, the doctrine that the Communist revolution must inevitably

be world-wide has been retained even though the meaning of the Communist revolution has been so profoundly altered. The triumph of the world revolution now would simply mean the expansion of the area of rule of the masters of the Soviet state."

What Is Bolshevism?

The term "Bolshevism" is derived from the Russian word for majority. It originated as a convenient epithet to distinguish Lenin's majority group in the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party from his principal opponents who comprised the minority or Menshevik group. Mensheviks opposed communism and favored the ideals of democratic socialism in Russia.

In the course of time, as Lenin's group developed into an independent organization and formulated a distinctive program, and strategy, Bolshevism came to signify the teachings, strategy, tactics, and organizational forms and practices first of Lenin, and after his death, of Stalin.

In a narrow sense, Bolshevism is, therefore, Russian and Soviet communism. In a broader sense, because of the domination of world communism by Lenin and Stalin, Bolshevism is what most people understand today by the simple term "communism."

What Is Trotskyism?

The essential idea in the teachings of Trotsky is the theory of the permanent revolution. This theory, which Trotsky claimed to have derived from certain ideas of Marx and Lenin and which he opposed to Stalin's theory of socialism in one country, rests on three central propositions:

1—"With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries . . . democratic and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat . . ."

2—"The conquest of power by the proletariat" (in any country) "does not terminate the revolution, but only opens it. Socialist construction is conceivable only on the foundation of the class struggle on a national and international scale."

3—"The completion of the socialist revolution within national

limits is unthinkable . . . the socialist revolution . . . attains completion only in the final victory of the new society on our entire planet."

At first Trotsky thought his theory would prevail as the basis of communist doctrine and Soviet policy, and that Stalin would be ousted as a result of a factional struggle within the communist movement. Later, he advocated a political revolution in the Soviet Union to overthrow the Stalinist government. In Soviet propaganda and law, Trotskyism is now another term for fascist, counter-revolutionary thinking and action.

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THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

What Is the Communist Movement?

Before the revolution in Russia in 1917, the communist movement consisted of scattered groups and parties dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism.

After Soviet Russia was established in 1917-18, the communist movement became an integrated, centralized, world-wide force for the preservation, development, and global extension of the Soviet system. It comprises communist parties and their auxiliary organizations. It includes communist youth and other movements and organizations under the control and direction of the communist parties.

What Kind of Party Is the Communist Party?

All communist parties are modeled on the Soviet Communist or Bolshevik party, which proclaims itself the only true representative of working class interests and of progress generally. All other parties are, in its view, representatives of anti-working class interests and actually or potentially counter-revolutionary.

The Soviet communist party is the direct descendant of the Bolshevik, or majority, faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, created by Lenin in 1903, which later became an independent party. In 1918 it changed its name to the Communist Party. After formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922, it was renamed Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). That is its present formal name.

What Kind of Party Did Lenin Create?

Lenin intended his party to be of a "new type." He conceived

it as the "vanguard of the working class," as its political "educator" and fighting "leader" in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and, after the overthrow, in the struggle to construct socialism.

The Bolshevik party was created as a revolutionary combat organization led by professional revolutionists, that is, of people devoting themselves wholly, under centralized control and semi-military discipline, to the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism.

After the seizure of power in Russia in 1917, the principal function of the Bolshevik party was altered. It now aimed at the organization, direction and administration of the state, the implementation of government policy, and the maintenance of power. In all of these functions, after Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin played the principal role.

In the Soviet Union and other Soviet societies, the Communist Party is the only legal party. According to the Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the Communist Party is "the leading core of all organizations of the working people both public and state." Communists hold the key positions and communist party units function in virtually all political, economic, military, and cultural institutions and organizations.

Are Communist Parties Autonomous?

No. They are directed and controlled by an international center. In the past this was the Third (Communist) International, generally called the Communist International or Comintern.

What Was the Comintern?

From 1919, when it was founded, until 1943, when it was dissolved, the Comintern, created chiefly by Lenin, served as "the general staff of the world revolution."

Its headquarters were situated in Moscow. In theory, the Comintern was independent of the Soviet government. Again, in theory, all affiliated parties of the Comintern were subject to its directives. The Soviet government, controlled by the Soviet communist party, was thus at the disposition of the Comintern for purposes of world revolution.

Actually, however, the Comintern was dominated by the Soviet communist party and was in fact only an appendage of the latter and, through it, of the Soviet government.

How Is the Communist Movement Directed Now?

After the Comintern was dissolved, the coordination and direction of the communist parties was entrusted to the secret police of the U.S.S.R. A member of this service is a secret member of the central committee of every communist party. In addition, after 1947, a number of communist parties have been directed by the Cominform.

What Is the Cominform?

In 1947, nine European communist parties, including the Soviet, French, and Italian parties, and a number of east and central European parties, established an Information Bureau, since known as the Communist Information Bureau or Cominform. Subsequently, other communist parties affiliated with the Cominform.

Originally, Cominform headquarters was situated in Belgrade, but after the breach between Titoist Yugoslavia and Stalinist Russia in 1948, it was transferred to Bucharest.

The ostensible purpose of the Cominform is "to organize and exchange experience and, in case of necessity, co-ordinate the activity of Communist parties on foundations of mutual agreement."

In reality, the Cominform which, like the Comintern before it, is dominated by the Soviet communist party, was launched as a part of the Soviet Union's retaliation for the Marshall Plan. Its real tasks are:

- Consolidation of Soviet power in eastern and central Europe.
- Intensification of communist political warfare in western Europe, chiefly through the French and Italian parties.

- Creation of an appearance of equality and democracy in relationships among communist parties in the Soviet world.

Then Communist Parties Are Really Agencies of the Soviet Government?

Yes. The communist parties always speak in the name of idealistic objectives and of the welfare of the working class and nation in

which they function, but their chief purpose and highest duty in peace and war is to serve the interests of the government of the U.S.S.R.

Any service they may render to the working class or to any cause other than their own is for the purpose of advancing their primary aim. According to the situation, they pose as the only true patriots or as the only genuine revolutionary internationalists. Both poses disguise their unchanging subservience to Soviet nationalism and imperialism.

How, For Example, Did the French Communist Party Serve Soviet Interests?

Before Hitler came to power in Germany in January, 1933, the French communist party, in common with the German and Soviet governments and with other communist parties, opposed the status quo in Europe created by the Versailles Treaty ending World War I.

In 1935, alarmed by Hitler's victory, the Soviet government made an alliance with France, directed against Germany. The French communist party then became a defender of the status quo.

Following consummation of the Nazi-Soviet alliance in 1939, which provided for the partition of Poland and was the signal for the outbreak of World War II, the French communist party opposed the war against Germany as an imperialist war. And after the fall of France in 1940, it collaborated with the German occupation authorities.

But when Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, the French communists became French patriots and entered the resistance movement in force.

During the cold war between the Soviet world and the West, which followed World War II, the French communist party fought the Marshall Plan and the shipment of arms from the United States to France.

How Is the Communist Party Organized?

Structurally, the communist party is a centralized organization based on a caste system. From its base in small cells, units, or

branches it rises through intermediate and superior local, district, and regional bodies to its summit in the Central or National Committee. In theory, the Central Committee is the highest authority in the party. In practice it is subordinate to the Presidium, the successor of the famous Politburo.

What Is the Presidium?

Structurally, the Presidium is one of the three fundamental subordinate bodies of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. The others are the Secretariat and the Party Control Committee.

Nominally, the Presidium directs the work of the Central Committee between plenary sessions. The Secretariat verifies the fulfillment of Party decisions and the selections of cadres; and the Party Control Committee supervises the internal policing of the Party.

In reality, the Presidium is dominant. Established by the 19th Party Congress in 1952, it has assumed the functions of the dissolved Politburo and of the Orgburo and stands at the peak of the Party pyramid. Its table of organization calls for ten full members and four alternates, but, in fact, its policies are determined by a small, unofficial "inner bureau" within the Presidium, whose members wield the ultimate power in the communist movement. The composition of this inner bureau and of the Presidium has changed several times since Stalin's death. Beria has been shot, Malenkov has been demoted. Others have been moved up, and further changes are anticipated. But regardless of changes in its make-up or its name, the directorate of the Soviet Communist Party is the seat of ultimate power in Soviet Russia. All organs of the Party and the state, including the Secret Service, the Army and bureaucracy are under its complete domination.

What Is Democratic Centralism?

In communist theory, "democratic centralism" is a combination of centralized authority and discipline with democratic practices in the life of the communist party. Theoretically, party policy is decided in free discussion by the membership which also elects the leadership. But once a decision is made, it is binding on all members of the party, and once elected, the leadership must be obeyed. In action,

discipline is on a military basis. Theoretically, centralized authority and democracy balance each other and are of equal importance.

In practice, authority and discipline are supreme and democracy is non-existent. Policy is decided and changed at will by the leadership. The membership may or may not be consulted. Party congresses and conventions are postponed by the leadership sometimes for years in violation of the party constitution. The Comintern was dissolved by its executive committee without a mandate from the Comintern Congress, nominally the highest body of the Third International.

When held, congresses are sounding boards for the announcement of decisions made by the leadership. Criticism and opposition are not tolerated. The leaders of communist parties outside the Soviet Union are appointed and deposed by decision of the Presidium of the Bolshevik party. The communist party, said Stalin, must be monolithic. It is exactly that.

Who Are the Communists?

"The Communist Party is formed," reads a statement of the Second Congress of the Comintern, held in 1920, "of the best, most intelligent, self-sacrificing and far-seeing workers."

That the communist movement attracts such workers in many countries is a fact. But it is also a fact that where workers are free to leave the movement, the communist party fails to hold them and even repels them by its policy.

Persons of non-working class origin are also included in the membership of the communist parties. But by choice, the communist parties in capitalist countries and in east and central Europe have their strongest roots among the industrial workers. These they regard as the historically destined leaders of the revolution.

In China, however, the communist party is now composed of an overwhelming majority of peasants. This despite the fact that when the party was first organized in 1920 it was essentially a party of workers.

The ultimate nature of all communist parties is indicated by the experience of the Soviet communist party. In 1928 when the

five-year plans were instituted in the U.S.S.R., the membership of the Soviet party consisted of industrial workers (more than 60%), peasants (over 20%), and clerical workers, intellectuals, and persons of non-working class origin other than peasants.

However, by the time of the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, workers were a distinct minority in the Bolshevik party. Men and women of the social strata created or enlarged by the industrialization and collectivization programs of the preceding years — plant and farm managers, technicians, engineers, government and party functionaries, and military officers — the elite of Soviet society, comprised a large majority of the communist party. Once the workers had performed their revolutionary function in seizing power, in fighting the civil war and enduring the rigors of industrialization, they were relegated to a minor role in the party which controlled the state. This has resulted in their present subordinate and subservient role in Soviet society.

Why Do People Join the Communist Party?

Some people are attracted by communist propaganda about an "ideal" society based on economic and social equality and on brotherhood. Some workers and peasants, unable to detect the red wolf in the sheep's clothing, take the communist party at its face value as a fighter for their immediate interests.

Some intellectuals are deceived or deceive themselves into thinking that the communist party will further the cultural, scientific, fraternal, and other causes in which they are interested. More cynical persons see in the large communist movement opportunities for careers.

Inevitably, when those who were induced, persuaded, or enticed into the communist fold discover that they were deceived, they leave. The number of ex-communists is many times greater than the number of party members.

But new recruits are always obtained. The membership rolls fatten on the poverty and misery which constitute the lot of many peoples and races. As long as poverty and misery continue on a large scale, the communist parties will continue to feed on the hopes and aspirations of men to achieve security, freedom, and dignity. As the free world continues to eliminate poverty, and con-

tinues to give men hope, it will cut away the ground under communism.

In the Soviet world, people join the communist party because of conviction, hope, indoctrination, a desire or pressure to conform, expediency in getting an education or building a successful career. And also, as the only legal party, it is the only available medium for political life and the realization of political ambition. To quit the communist party in the Soviet world is a risky undertaking.

What Is a Fellow Traveler?

A fellow traveler is a person who knowingly supports communist policy and collaborates with the communists in various ways, but is not a member of a communist party. He is very useful to the communists in reaching and influencing people who would be repelled by direct contact with the communist movement.

It is possible for organizations as well as individuals to be fellow travelers. An outstanding example is the American League Against War and Fascism.

In 1932, this organization was founded to spearhead communist protests against the rising menace of Germany and Italy. It refused all cooperation with non-communist groups equally interested in protesting fascism.

In 1935, in line with communism's switch to a "popular front" with other parties, the League changed its name to the American League for Peace and Democracy. It now collaborated with the same liberal forces which, only yesterday, it had called "social fascists."

In 1939, in the wake of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the League name was changed once more, this time to the American Peace Mobilization. It now proclaimed the necessity of America's living in peace with the nazis and fascists. Collaboration with recent liberal allies was now rejected.

In 1941, when Hitler plunged into Russia, the name of the League changed again, becoming the American People's Mobilization. Now, again, collaboration with other groups was the order of the day.

The organization had followed diligently the twists and turns

of the "party line," while pretending to be politically independent and morally pure.

How Many Communists Are There?

No one knows exactly. The membership of communist parties varies widely. The turnover is large. In addition to those who leave because of disillusionment, large numbers are expelled in the periodic purges which are a prescribed feature of communist party organization.

In May, 1949, before the complete communist conquest of China by Mao Tse-tung, the estimated membership of more than sixty communist parties was about 20,000,000.

Of this number, two-thirds were in the Soviet world, including the then Chinese Soviet Republic. The largest party was the Bolshevik, with a membership of some six million. More than four-and-a-half million were in the parties of the European satellites. The Chinese party numbered approximately two million. The two largest communist parties in Western countries were the French and Italian, with a combined membership of approximately three-and-a-half million. The United States party had then about 75,000, its historic peak.

Although some communist parties, including the Italian, French, and American, have lost members since that estimate was made, others have made large gains. The Chinese party, for instance announced on its thirty-first anniversary that it had 5,800,000 members. The world total now is closer to 25 than to 20 million.

Do the 25,000,000 in Communist Parties Constitute the Entire Organized Communist Force?

No. Each communist party has a youth organization and other auxiliaries, many of them larger than the party, under its direction.

The Young Communist League of the U.S.S.R., for example, whose members are 15 to 26 years of age, numbers about 16,000,000; and the Young Pioneers, children 9 to 15 years old, number about 14,000,000. Altogether, the organized active communist force of the U.S.S.R. comprises about one-sixth of the population.

In addition to their youth auxiliaries, the communists in France, Italy, and other countries also control large and powerful trade union organizations. And all communist parties create auxiliary economic and political movements to serve their ends.

Does the Size of a Communist Party Indicate the Danger It Represents?

Not necessarily. Of course, when communist parties are large they are a greater danger than when they are small. But the fact that they are small does not mean that they are not a potential danger of great importance.

In the United States it is customary to point to the small number of organized communists and dismiss them as an insignificant national force (which in 1955, according to J. Edgar Hoover, numbered 22,663).

However, a communist party of *any* size is a serious danger. Any organized, disciplined force with a definite goal and the determination, shrewdness and courage necessary to achieve its ends presents a menace. It is, moreover, a detachment of an international army which commands vast material and human resources upon which it can draw when necessary.

At the outbreak of the Russian revolution in March, 1917, the Bolshevik party had only some 40,000 members. One month later, the Bolshevik party membership doubled. Six months later, the force which organized and led the armed insurrection of October, 1917, numbered only 240,000 in a population larger than the present population of the United States.

After establishment of the Soviet state, the communist parties of the world were able to draw on the enormous resources it commanded.

In June, 1936, one month before the outbreak of the fascist rebellion and the civil war, the Spanish communist party had grown from about 150 in 1931 (when the democratic forces overthrew the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera) to about 50,000 members. It was still a minor force compared with the powerful Spanish anarchist and socialist movements. Nevertheless, after the civil war began, the Spanish communist party, as a direct result of Soviet pressure on the republican government of Spain, to which it sent

limited amounts of aid in cash, became the dominant political force in the republic state. Soviet and Spanish communists were vested with control of the anti-fascist military and police forces of the republic, which they used to establish a reign of terror against anarchists, socialists, and others. They looted the gold reserves of the Bank of Spain and sent them to Moscow. In general they made a major contribution to the defeat of the republican state and the triumph of fascism.

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COMMUNIST STRATEGY

How Do Communists Try to Tear Down the Democratic World?

The basic tactics used by communists to tear down the free world were formulated by the Comintern under Lenin. The ultimate ends or "meaning of the communist revolution" may have been "profoundly altered" under Stalin, but the tactics used to achieve the new goal are, in essence, those designed by Lenin to attain the original goal. Any differences in present-day tactics are variations on the old theme.

Among the principal means used by communists, all directed toward the primary goal of revolution, are destruction of existing institutions, intensification of political and racial differences and struggles, exploitation of international trade, infiltration and manipulation of trade unions and other mass organizations, creation of "front" organizations, espionage, and, ultimately, armed force.

A very special role is assigned to Communist propaganda. Where the more direct tactics are impracticable or feeble, propaganda prepares the way for them; where they are strong, propaganda complements them; and where they have been successful, propaganda consolidates their victory.

How Does Communist Propaganda Operate?

Communist propaganda has two facets: domestic and foreign. At home it is designed to insure the loyalties of the masses by creating a permanent war psychosis. Popular discontent about inadequate housing and shoddy goods is held down by massive doses of constant

indoctrination, which extols the Communist leaders and shifts the blame for high armaments and the low standard of living on the alleged belligerent intentions of the so-called capitalist countries, especially the United States.

Outside the Communist empire, enormous sums are spent annually, especially in Asia, in the attempt to undermine the peoples' faith in democracy and to gain adherents to the Communist cause. This propaganda is directed primarily toward the proletariat, but it also attempts to exploit the grievances of the small farmer and of the so-called petty bourgeoisie (small shopkeepers, white collar workers and intellectuals). In the main, these propaganda efforts are carried out by the Communist parties, subsidized and directed by Moscow, and take the forms of Communist newspapers, schools, and other forms of indoctrination.

How Do Communists Weaken Existing Institutions?

Their main attack is on law and representative government.

For obvious reasons, communists prefer a state of affairs in which they can function legally. But because they regard the state as the "executive committee of the ruling class" with which they consider themselves perpetually at war, communists, in the words of the Statutes of Admission to the Comintern,

"... can have no confidence in bourgeois laws . . ."

Where the law forbids communist activity, the Statutes directed, the communists must find a way of acting legally through "front" parties and organizations and, at the same time, must continue to function illegally.

"... a combination of legal and illegal work is absolutely necessary."

How Do Communists Undermine Representative Government?

The Second Congress of the Comintern made the answer to this question unmistakably clear in *The Communist Party and Parliamentaryism*.

The guiding thought is:

"... bourgeois parliaments . . . cannot be taken over by the proletariat . . .

"The task of the proletariat consists in blowing up . . . all the parliamentary institutions . . . whether they be republican or constitutional monarchy.

"The same applies to the local government institutions."

The "fundamental means" of accomplishing this task was defined as "mass demonstrations . . . carried out . . . under the direction of a . . . Communist Party" and "logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist state."

It is necessary "in this warfare . . . developing into civil war" to "secure every and all legal positions making them . . . auxiliaries in the revolutionary work, and subordinating such positions to the . . . mass struggle."

Chief among such "auxiliary supports" are election campaigns and "the rostrum of parliament."

Elected Communist Party candidates enter parliament as "scouting parties" in order to prepare "the masses to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and parliament itself from within."

This work of "preparation of a proletarian uprising . . . for the destruction of the bourgeois state and for the creation of the new proletarian state" consists "chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform . . ."

But "if the Communists have the majority in the local government institutions, they must:

"a) carry on revolutionary propaganda against the bourgeois central authority;

"b) . . . attempt to establish an armed workers' militia . . .

"c) under certain conditions substitute local Workers' Councils (soviets) for the municipal administration."

What Are the Duties of Communist Representatives?

In every country, elected representatives, including communists,

take an oath, prescribed by law, which generally commits the swearer to uphold the laws and government of his country.

Nevertheless, *The Party and Parliamentarism* directed:

"Each Communist representative must remember that he is not a 'legislator' who is bound to seek agreements with other legislators, but an agitator of the party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order to carry out the orders of the party there.

"The Communist member is answerable not to the wide mass of his constituents, but to his own Communist party — whether legal or illegal."

The communist representative must propose "demonstrative measures, not for the purpose of having them passed . . . but for the purposes of propaganda, agitation, and organization . . ."

He must get "preliminary instructions" on all important political questions from the central committee of the party to which he must submit "for confirmation" the "thesis of his speech, or the text," at each "forthcoming important debate."

He "is bound to combine legal work with illegal work."

He must use his "inviolability," or parliamentary immunity from arrest, to render "assistance to the illegal organizations . . ."

The communist movement, it is clear, is always partly or entirely conspiratorial and underground.

How Do Communists Exploit Differences and Unrest?

The classic example of the exploitation of differences within a nation is, of course, Russia. When the Czarist regime was overthrown in 1917 and was replaced by a provisional democratic government, the Bolsheviks, a minority party which had played a distinctly minor role in the revolution, began a subversive agitation. By hammering on the theme — Land, Peace, Bread — during a critical period, they skillfully increased disaffection among peasants and workers, and by raising the slogan — All Power to the Soviets — they turned large numbers against the provisional government. In nine months they paved the way for the success of the armed uprising by which they came to power.

After securing power, the Bolsheviks permitted elections to a constituent assembly which they, in common with other anti-Czarist parties, had previously demanded. When the constituent assembly, which convened in January, 1918, and in which the Bolsheviks were a minority, refused to do the bidding of the Bolshevik government, the latter dissolved it by armed force.

For Russia, which in the spring of 1917 was in the midst of world war and in the throes of revolution, the Leninist tactics of subversion by agitation and armed insurrection were sufficient to guarantee success. For other situations in other countries, the communists subsequently developed appropriate tactics. Their greatest success is, of course, China.

How Did the Communists Exploit Differences and Unrest in China?

In essence, the Chinese communists followed the directives of the Second Congress of the Comintern. The principal lever by which they overthrew the Chinese government was the peasantry whose hunger for land the communists exploited.

"... give the peasant movement a revolutionary character ..." directed the Comintern. The communists promoted civil war in the countryside against landowners. "Armed struggle is the salient form of China's Revolution," declared Mao Tse-tung.

"... organize the peasants ... into ... Soviets ..." decreed the Comintern. The Chinese communists established a separate Soviet republic within China. From this base, they conducted civil war against the central government of China. At first, when they were relatively weak, they fought as guerrillas. To bring down the central government, they tried to wreck the Chinese economy, burning towns and villages, destroying communications, and blowing up industrial installations. When they became stronger, the Chinese communists put mass armies into the field and fought sustained military campaigns.

"These Soviets" of peasants, the Comintern ordered, "will work in cooperation with the Soviet republics ... for the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist order throughout the world." Long before the Chinese communists conquered China they collaborated with the U.S.S.R., supporting its foreign policy and receiving political, eco-

nomie, financial, and military aid from the Soviet Union. After the conquest of China, the cooperation of the two centers of communist power took on new forms. The U.S.S.R. equipped and trained the North Korean army which invaded South Korea. And Chinese communist armies, posing as volunteers, intervened in Korea to save the North Koreans from defeat. In addition, Chinese communist support in French Indo-China led to the uneasy truce in 1954 between communist Vietnamese and Vietnamese forces. This drained much of French strength and weakened French resistance to Soviet pressure in Europe.

China is a model of communist strategy for colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Other tactics are used, for example, in the United States. This country has no peasant problem and is not a colonial or even a semi-colonial nation, but it has a large Negro minority.

What Is the Communist Record on the Negro Question in the United States?

Ever since its foundation in 1919-20, the Communist Party in the United States has posed as a militant champion of the Negro. Except for a small number, almost all of whom subsequently regretted their mistake, Negroes in the United States have shunned the Communist Party.

At various times and in the name of various policies, the communists have tried to exploit the grievances of the Negroes in order to promote sharp political conflict leading to civil war.

From about 1921 to 1928 they concentrated their activities on Negro industrial workers, whom they regarded as destined leaders of colonial revolutionary movements. In effect, they ignored the bulk of the Negro population, who were sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the South, and bitterly attacked the Negro middle class and the handful of Negro capitalists.

After receiving a directive from the Comintern, the American communists agitated for the next seven years, until 1935, for self-determination, including the right of secession, for Negroes in the Black Belt in the South. In this period, all Negroes were their brothers.

In 1935 the communists reversed themselves and beat the drums for a united front to realize equal rights for Negroes, that is, to win first-class citizenship for them in our society. This policy endured until 1939.

While the U.S.S.R. and Germany were allies in World War II, from 1939 to 1941, the American communists strove to use the tactic of equal rights and the slogan of self-determination, which they revived as means of opposing the Roosevelt Administration's policy of aiding England against Germany.

Then, after the Soviet Union was invaded by Germany in 1941, the communists called for "unequivocal support by Negroes of the war of National Liberation" — for the "socialist fatherland!"

Following the onset of the cold war, the American communists urged Negroes to "Stop Wall Street Imperialism!"

How Have the Communists Exploited Trade Relations?

The Soviet Union uses trade as a weapon in political controversies, as in the case of the reduction of Soviet purchases ordered from Great Britain in the 1920's and 1930's, during political disputes with that country. At times, too, it has conducted business with foreign countries in such a way as to aid local Communist parties there. For example, in the spring of 1946, just before the French parliamentary elections, the U.S.S.R. offered to sell 500,000 tons of grain to France, negotiating directly with Maurice Thorez, head of the French Communist Party.

The thesis of the Second Comintern Congress on the trade union question reads in part, "Communists should have Communist factions in all trade unions and factory committees, and acquire by their means an influence over the labor movement and direct it."

The aim of these factions is to "subordinate the unions to the leadership of the party . . ." in order to make of them efficient and conscious organs of the struggle for the abolition of capitalism and for Communism.

But this is not always possible. In some unions, communists are not allowed and, when discovered, are expelled. They may even be "insulted, hounded and persecuted," wrote Lenin in his *"Left*

Wing" Communism: An Infatuate Disorder shortly before the Second Congress.

In that case, said he,

"It is necessary to be able to withstand all this . . . if need be — to resort to all sorts of devices, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs."

On the other hand, there are situations when, from the communist point of view, it is better to split the unions.

"Placing the object and essence of labor organization higher than the form of organization," reads the thesis of the Second Congress, "the Communists ought not to hesitate before a split . . . if a refusal to split would mean abandoning revolutionary work in the trade unions, and giving up the attempt to make of them an instrument of revolutionary struggle . . ."

What Is the Communist Record in Labor Unions?

In consequence of the communist attitude toward unions, the history of communist trade-union policy has rung every change from boring-from-within unions in order to capture them, to splits.

When successful in capturing unions, communists use them either to aggravate labor strife or to restrain labor from acting to improve its position, according to the needs of the moment of Soviet foreign policy.

Splits because of communist leadership of unions have resulted in a whole series of separate labor movements beginning with the Red International of Labor Unions (1921-35) and extending to the present World Federation of Trade Unions, whose claimed membership of more than fifty million includes almost thirty million in the U.S.S.R. and millions more in the Soviet satellite states.

In the view of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which includes the British Trades Union Congress, the AFL, the CIO, and other large affiliates, the WFTU is not a true trade-union movement, but a tool of the Soviet government.

In the United States, the communists, disguised as liberals, began

boring from within the AFL. In addition, in 1929, they established the Trade Union Unity League as their federation of revolutionary unions. Under this policy, communists worked in the AFL in order to "win over," that is, split off, "the advanced workers" and "unite" them in the T.U.U.L.

This policy, a dismal failure, was abandoned in 1935 and communists reoriented themselves away from the AFL in time to become a factor in the organizing campaigns of the CIO, following the latter's break with the AFL. They secured control of, or heavily infiltrated, unions of maritime, longshore, electrical, mine, transport, fur, warehouse, retail, office, and other workers.

During the period of communist opposition to American preparedness in World War II, following arrangement of the Nazi-Soviet pact, communist control of unions was used to promote strikes. After the Soviet Union was invaded by Hitler, the communists stifled every show of discontent by the workers in the unions under their control.

In the late 1940's, after the communists were again pursuing a course of disruption, their hold in the CIO was broken in a series of sharp struggles. Communist-controlled unions were expelled from the CIO.

How Does the U.S.S.R. Exploit Minorities?

An example: In October, 1939, one month after the partition of Poland in accordance with the Nazi-Soviet pact, Victor Alter and Henry Erlich, prominent Jewish labor leaders of Poland, were arrested and imprisoned by the Soviet government. In September, 1941, after the abrogation of the pact and the invasion of Russian territory by its former friend and partner, Russia released the two men from their Moscow prison. The Soviet government felt that Alter and Erlich would be able to help them in what was now a war for Russian survival. They were Polish, they were Jewish and they were labor leaders. Indeed, immediately after their release, Erlich and Alter issued a call to all Polish citizens to join the new Polish army, then being organized under Soviet auspices, to fight against the Nazis.

The two men also presented a plan for organizing a Jewish anti-Hitlerite committee. It aimed to "mobilize Jews throughout

the world for the struggle against Hitlerism, to organize aid and assistance to the Jewish masses in countries under Nazi control" and to serve as a relief agency for Jewish refugees in the Soviet Union. The Committee would also maintain contact with the underground movement in Poland. The Alter-Erlich plan was projected along purely democratic lines, assuring representation on the Committee to Jewish delegates from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania and other Nazi-dominated countries.

After having served their function in providing the Soviet government with the means of organizing and controlling anti-Nazi sentiment in the German-dominated countries, Alter and Erlich were rearrested and shot. In a few short months, a new organization called the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee made its appearance. Having appropriated the Alter-Erlich idea, the Soviets proceeded to pervert it to their own purposes.

The Committee no longer put its main emphasis on helping persecuted Jews, nor did it aim to help the Allies generally. It was now dedicated to enlist world support for the Soviet Union in particular. The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, now the direct instrument of the U.S.S.R., was used as a propaganda machine for generating world support for the efforts of the Red Army and to spread throughout the world the story of Soviet "accomplishments." This became its exclusive function.

By 1948, with the end of the war and the emergence of the real nature of Soviet aims, plus the stepping-up of the anti-Jewish campaign, the Committee had ceased to be an effective instrument for U.S.S.R. propaganda abroad. It was therefore suppressed.

What Is a Communist Front?

A communist front is an organization ostensibly non-communist, formed to serve a liberal cause, but actually established and controlled by communists for their own revolutionary purposes. Or it is an organization which communists captured and turned into a communist front. The activities of communist fronts are often harmful to legitimate liberal organizations which pursue democratic ideals and principles.

The Progressive Party which ran Henry Wallace for President in the 1948 election was, unbeknownst to many of its members,

an example of the first kind of front organization. The American Labor Party in New York State, since the split in its ranks which resulted in formation of the Liberal Party in 1944, is an example of the second kind of communist front. Other communist fronts include the National Negro Congress, Civil Rights Congress, World Federation of Democratic Youth, and International Workers Order. There are scores of others listed by the Attorney General of the United States.

How Do Communists Conduct Espionage?

Espionage is a skilled trade, requiring specialized aptitude and personnel. Soviet espionage is conducted on a global scale by Soviet military intelligence and the MVD (the secret police). They function, as the recent disclosures of Soviet espionage in Canada revealed, in cooperation with the Soviet diplomatic corps.

In the world-wide communist espionage net, the communist parties serve principally as recruiting services for agents. Also, by penetrating government services and winning members for the party in important industries and among research scientists they acquire a vast amount of important information and establish opportunities for the operations of spies.

Recent revelations of the activities of Soviet espionage rings in Canada, England, and the United States, indicate that Soviet espionage is an enormously successful enterprise.

Spies in the United States, many recruited from the ranks of the Communist Party, succeeded in the last fifteen years in stealing hundreds of important military, industrial, and political secrets.

Among the military secrets are details relating to the production of the H-bomb and the plans of the atom bomb. Also the plans of sonar anti-sub devices, aircraft anti-sub radar, the proximity fuse, guided missiles, and various explosives.

The industrial secrets included precious chemical formulae, photographic and synthetic-rubber processes, and research data.

Among the political data acquired by Soviet espionage agents were the espionage files of the Justice Department and many secret dispatches from U.S. diplomatic officials.

How Do Communists Use Armed Force To Tear Down the Democratic World?

Lenin forecast the use of armed force by a communist state against non-communist nations. Before coming to power, he wrote:

"The victorious proletariat . . . having expropriated the capitalists and organized Socialist production at home, would rise against the rest of the capitalist world, attracting the oppressed classes of other countries, raising among them revolts against the capitalists, launching, in case of necessity, armed forces against the exploiting classes and their states."

After coming to power, the communists developed a number of tactics based on armed force. These include sporadic uprisings and sustained insurrections by guerrilla forces. The latter, exemplified by events in Greece and the current situation in French Indo-China and other countries, developed in the case of China into prolonged civil war.

The chief weapons in the armed assault by communism on the free world are the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. These forces were responsible for the conquest of eastern and central Europe during and following World War II.

However, since that time, the nations of Western Europe have banded together in NATO and other defense organizations. The United States has made clear its intention to guarantee the integrity of Europe and stationed American troops there. No further armed attack by the Soviet Union has occurred.

But in Asia a number of armed attacks or occupations have taken place. In Korea and Vietnam these attacks were spearheaded by native Communists, massively supported with armaments and money from the Soviet Union, and, in Korea, with "volunteers" from Communist China. In the case of Tibet (in 1950) and of the Tachen Islands, the attacks were carried out directly by the Chinese Communists.

Many observers claim the Soviet Union will continue to undermine Europe by propaganda and the fifth column tactics of local Communist parties, but that the Soviet Union will shy away from armed force. Communist China, meanwhile, may attempt to extend their empire in south- and south-east Asia by armed force and open intervention.

What Is the Communist World Peace Movement?

Typical of all communist fronts is the World Peace Movement, an international communist-controlled organization which circulated the Stockholm Appeal. This was a petition to outlaw the atomic bomb and it was signed by hundreds of millions of persons in many countries, including the United States. The Appeal, described by the Cominform as the "pivot of the entire activity of the Communist parties," was circulated while the aggression against South Korea was in preparation.

The real purpose of the Appeal was made clear in a speech by Mikhail Suslov, Stalin's private secretary, at a secret Cominform meeting on July 21, 1951, in Berlin. Public disclosure of the speech was made by the National Committee For A Free Europe, in a pamphlet, *The Soviet Peace Myth* by Leon Dennen.

Suslov said that "an intensification of the campaign to condemn the atom bomb and Anglo-American imperialism would also result in the election of municipal and county councils" which under "conditions of war," if "properly politicized by party factions," would form "the basis for the formation of local Soviets."

He thought that "the great peace movement created by the Stockholm Appeal can also be used . . . to penetrate . . . unions . . . organizations of war veterans, war victims, peasant and workers' societies . . ."

But the "most significant aspect of our campaign for the Stockholm Appeal" is the success in "attracting young men who . . . are joining our military sections" and "are our assurance of successful revolutionary and insurrectionary action."

There are, of course, legitimate non-communist groups devoted to promoting peace, e.g., American Friends Service Committee.

What Is the Soviet Record in the United Nations?

The Soviet Union has sabotaged the work of the United Nations from the very beginning. Its chief weapon has been the veto, which, by March, 1955, was cast 62 times. The Soviet delegates have several times walked out of the Security Council. They have refused to participate in the work of numerous U.N. agencies, such as the International Monetary Fund, the International Labor Organization

and many others. Instead, they have used the United Nations as a sounding board for their propaganda, abusing the prestige of the world organization for their own purposes.

By attacking the United States, England and France as imperialist powers and by sponsoring Communist China for a seat in the Security Council, they have attempted to create the impression that they are the protectors of the weak nations of Asia. However, the discrepancy between Communist propaganda in the U.N. and Communist aggressions in Korea, Tibet and Indo-China has made the free countries of Asia more aware of the dangers of Communism than ever before.

* * *

In sharp contrast with the illusory promises of the Communist Party are the genuine advances made by the truly democratic governments of the world. It is these democratic governments which are solely responsible for the social progress which has bettered the lot of the average man. And the United States in particular, within the constitutional framework of its American democracy, has achieved significant social advances along with the highest standard of living in the world.

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CHAPTER IV

THE ZIGZAGS IN COMMUNIST STRATEGY

The years from 1900 to the Russian revolution were a period of the blueprinting by Lenin of the principles of strategy and of his struggles to build a party with which to gain power.

The history of communist strategy may be said to begin with the Russian revolution. In that history, up to the present time, four principal phases may be distinguished.

What Was the First Phase of Communist Strategy?

The first phase opened with the Bolshevik revolution and ended about 1921. This was the phase of the consolidation of power by the Bolshevik state and of the fostering of immediate world-wide revolution. It was responsible for the revolutionary tide which engulfed a great part of Europe after World War I.

In this phase occurred the civil war and the Allied intervention in Soviet Russia. This was the period of "war communism" in Soviet Russia, marked by the forcible requisition of grain from the peasants, the creation of labor armies under military discipline, and other extreme measures.

In this phase the Comintern was established to organize the world revolution and bolster Soviet Russia.

What Was the Second Phase of Communist Strategy?

The second phase, from 1921 to 1928, was basically a transition stage of communist strategy.

It began, following victory in the civil war and failure of the revolutionary upsurge in Europe to achieve success, with the adoption in Soviet Russia of a moderate economic policy. This was known as the New Economic Policy, and it remained in force until adoption of the first five-year plan.

While waiting for revival of the world revolution, Lenin projected the policy of resuming relations with "capitalist states." Under the Treaty of Rapallo of 1922, Soviet Russia and Germany undertook political and military collaboration against the Versailles system. In this stage, Lenin also initiated the united-front policy of collaboration with socialists in other countries.

After Lenin's illness and death, there occurred the tremendous struggle between Stalin and Trotsky over communist strategy. As Stalin controlled the party and state apparatus, communist strategy during this stage became increasingly nationalistic in substance and somewhat, but not altogether, nationalist in form.

Stalin destroyed the opposition in 1927-28, and the Sixth Congress of the Third International, in the latter year, adopted the Comintern program which embodied his conceptions of communist strategy. This marked the end of the second and the opening of the third phase of communist strategy.

What Was the Third Phase of Communist Strategy?

The central theme of this phase, which extended from 1928 to 1939, was the defense and development of the U.S.S.R. as the bastion of world communism. The focal point of this policy was Europe. But in this period China began the construction of a Soviet republic by the Chinese communists under Mao Tse-tung. It was to serve as a base for the conquest of all of China through prolonged civil war.

Another striking feature of communist strategy originated at this time.

"From 1918 to 1928," wrote Ypsilon in *A Pattern for World Revolution*, "... Russian and International Communists ... stated their revolutionary purposes with complete candor ... After 1928 ... one of their important aims has become the concealment of their aims."

The third phase also saw the origin of the alternation of periods of emphasis on the internationalist *form* and nationalist *substance* of communist strategy.

Two principal periods, 1928-35 and 1935-39 may be distinguished in the third phase of communist strategy.

What Was Communist Strategy from 1928 to 1935?

During these years, industry in the U.S.S.R. was developed rapidly under the first five-year plan. Agriculture was collectivized forcibly, resulting in a man-made famine in which several million peasants perished; and the social structure of the Soviet Union was profoundly modified — a new elite ruling class of several million was created. Slave labor assumed tremendous proportions.

In the democratic countries, which were in the throes of economic depression, the Communist International pursued a general policy of revolutionary extremism. In the communist view, this was the "third period," following the first period of revolutionary upsurge and the second of capitalist stabilization. Now, the world revolution again stood as "the order of the day."

Actually, however, the communists intended no more than a diversion to preoccupy the capitalist world as a means of protecting "socialist construction" in the U.S.S.R. At the same time, the communists abandoned the tactic of the united front, refusing all collaboration with the socialists, whom they denounced as "social fascists." They split the unions and other working class organizations controlled by socialists and other forces. In Germany, the communists collaborated with the Nazis against the socialists. They offered no organized resistance to Hitler's assumption of power.

What Was Communist Strategy from 1935-1939?

The communist strategy of this period was dominated by fear that the powerful Nazi state, which disappointed Soviet hopes for continued German-Soviet collaboration, might become the spearhead of a coalition of powers against the U.S.S.R.

Reflections of this fear were to be seen in the sweeping purges of 1935-39 in the U.S.S.R. which destroyed the greater part of

the generation of Bolsheviks who had made the revolution, fought in the civil war, and built the Soviet state. Among other things, the victims were accused of espionage and treachery on behalf of Nazi Germany.

Communist strategy to prevent a Nazi-led anti-Soviet coalition centered on the collective security policy of the Soviet government and a revived popular front policy of the Comintern.

The popular front policy called for a coalition of communist, socialist, democratic and progressive forces against fascist and reactionary elements. In a number of instances it was conspicuously successful in building communist strength.

The real objective of the collective security policy was to sharpen existing differences among the European powers. The Soviet Union joined the League of Nations, denounced by Lenin as an imperialist "thieves' kitchen." It made alliances with France and Czechoslovakia, directed against Germany. In 1935, it denounced the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, which threatened British domination of east Africa and the Red Sea, but it supplied the Italian navy with oil. In the Spanish civil war of 1936-39, the Soviet government intervened on the side of the republican government against the fascists supported by Germany and Italy.

In 1939, the Soviet government, alarmed by Hitler's triumph at Munich in 1938 in dismembering Czechoslovakia, undertook simultaneous negotiations with England for an alliance against Germany, and with Germany for an alliance directed against France and England. The outcome was the infamous Nazi-Soviet pact.

What Is the Fourth Phase of Communist Strategy?

The fourth phase is the era of Soviet expansion and red imperialism, of the direct assault on democratic society.

Three periods may be distinguished: 1939-41; 1941-45; after 1945.

What Was Communist Strategy from 1939 to 1941?

This period opened with the partition of Poland in accordance with the secret clauses of the Nazi-Soviet pact. During the war

of Germany against England and France which followed, the Soviet Union supplied Germany with wheat, oil, and other essential materials.

The communists denounced the war as an imperialist struggle. Stalin, writing in *Pravda*, official organ of the Soviet Communist Party, charged England and France with responsibility for the war. Vyacheslav Molotov, Soviet Minister of foreign affairs, declared that "Hitlerism . . . is a matter of taste." *Izvestia*, official organ of the Soviet government, supported Hitler's proposals of October 8, 1939, for ending the war, including settlement of the "Jewish problem." In France, the communists spoke of turning the imperialist war into civil war. In the United States, the communists opposed the draft, lend-lease, and other measures, and sponsored the slogan, "The Yanks Are Not Coming."

The communist strategy employed in Europe to buttress the U.S.S.R. and to pit the powers against one another, was applied also in Asia. In 1938, Japan and the Soviet Union had fought a short but full-scale undeclared war along the Soviet-Manchurian border. In April, 1941, when Japanese preparations for war with the United States were well advanced, the Soviet government signed a five-year neutrality pact with Japan, which included Soviet recognition of the Japanese puppet state in Manchuria. The Soviet government thus secured its position in the Far East, at the expense of China and the United States, and sold out the Chinese communists who were waging guerilla war against the Japanese in Manchuria.

In Asia, Soviet strategy was momentarily successful. But in Europe, expanding Soviet power threatened vital German interests in eastern Europe and was a powerful factor in Hitler's decision to attack the U.S.S.R.

What Was Communist Strategy from 1941 to 1945?

This was the period of the "Great Patriotic War" and "National War of Liberation" against Germany and of the Soviet-American-British coalition against the fascist axis.

After Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the communist parties in the free countries reversed their attitude to the war, demanding in chorus with the Soviet government that

their own governments open a second front in Europe to aid the Soviet armies. In the United States, the communists became super-patriots and now shouted, "The Yanks Are Not Coming Too Late."

In 1943, the Comintern was dissolved on the ground that it was "a hindrance to the . . . national workers' parties." In reality it was superfluous. Its dissolution was a convenient and deceitful sop to the anti-communist sentiments of the Soviet Union's allies in the wartime coalition. In the United States, the Communist Party enacted a farce in "dissolving" itself and forming the Communist Political Association. Browder, then Stalin's loyal American minion, proclaimed his acceptance of free enterprise.

But as Russian armies cleared the Soviet Union of the enemy and pursued the Nazis into their homeland, Soviet imperialism realized new and greater opportunities. At conferences with the United States and England in 1943 and 1945, the Soviet government won recognition of a "security" zone in eastern Europe and the promise of large territorial and strategic advantages as its reward for its agreement to enter what all then thought would be the long and costly war against Japan.

Altogether, by the end of the war, the Soviet world had been enlarged by part or all the territory and population of more than ten states in eastern and central Europe and Asia. In total, the Soviet world gained some 260,000 square miles and extended its sway over approximately 125,000,000 additional victims. And all this preceded the conquest of China.

What Was Communist Strategy from 1945 to Stalin's Death?

The end of World War II found the Soviet Union in military occupation of a vast territory in eastern and central Europe. It proceeded to consolidate this area into an empire of satellite states with the same social system as its own. In Asia it created a satellite in North Korea and gave enormous aid to the Chinese communists. The conquest of China by Mao Tse-tung altered the world balance of forces to the advantage of communism and opened a new epoch in the history of Asia.

The United States, supported by the west European states and countries in Asia and Latin America, challenged the expansionist

drive of communist imperialism and undertook to contain it. Post-war differences developed into a cold war between the Soviet and democratic worlds. Communist strategy in the "cold war" comprised four principal sets of tactics:

- 1) Sustained attempts by the communist parties to weaken the economy and political life of the western countries, especially in France and Italy, and also western Germany;
- 2) Armed uprisings and prolonged rebellions by guerrillas, as in Greece in 1946-49, and in French Indo-China, which in 1954 led to an uneasy truce between communist and non-communist forces;
- 3) Open aggression by the communist state of North Korea against the non-communist state of South Korea, with the support of the Chinese communists; and
- 4) Propaganda and diplomatic campaigns for peace and disarmament to divert attention from the steadily mounting Soviet war preparations; propaganda and diplomatic offensives against "American imperialism" as the aggressor in Korea against the peoples of Asia and as instigator of atomic war to destroy the Soviet world; and diplomatic maneuvers designed to sharpen differences between the United States and its allies over such issues as negotiation of peace in Korea, disposition of Formosa, and the seating of communist China in the United Nations.

What Has Been Communist Strategy Since Stalin's Death?

Shortly after Stalin's death on March 5, 1953, while the struggle for his succession raged behind the scenes, a series of minor crises shook the Soviet world. It began with the unprecedented uprising of the workers of East Berlin on June 17, 1953, and was followed in quick order by similar strikes among organized Czech factory workers, Hungarian peasants, Bulgarian tobacco workers and even among the slave laborers of Siberia. Even more unprecedented was the reaction of the various governments. Instead of executing all participants as they would have done under Stalin, they compromised. The strikers remained unmolested when they returned to work, and far-reaching governmental reforms were largely initiated.

On the domestic front a new course was promulgated which

appreciably modified the existing repressive policies. This was especially true for the satellite countries where people still could remember living conditions under a democracy. Economic concessions, such as, price reductions, cancellations of tax arrears, reduced farm delivery quotas and, most significant of all, a shift from heavy to light industry were the norms. Political relaxation included amnesties, decline in purges, relaxation of governmental direction of cultural and scientific activity, and the avowal to cooperate with the landowning peasants.

Foreign policy was equally conciliatory. The tempo of the "peace offensive" was stepped up, cultural delegations crossed the iron curtain from both sides with increasing frequency, and Malenkov spoke of the terrors of the "A Bomb" and of the futility of war. Only the Chinese struck a discordant note, humiliating France and the free world at the Geneva conference early in 1954, by enforcing the partition of French Indo-China. In order to reassure both the Russian people and the outside world against the spectre of a new Stalin, collective leadership was incessantly stressed.

This state of affairs was not to last long. As the struggle for supremacy in the Kremlin drifted to a decision, the line changed again. After Beria's execution in June, 1953, and Malenkov's demotion in February, 1955, the new incumbents, Nikita S. Khrushchev and the army generals, felt more secure and tightened the reins. At home, first priority was again given to the production of armaments and heavy industry, to the neglect of consumers' goods. Foreign policy, too, at first hardened; and Marshal Zhukov, the newly appointed defense minister, warned in an official speech that Russia was not afraid of America's atomic weapons.

However, with the "Big Four" meeting at the "summit" conference in Geneva, in 1955, Russian foreign policy took an outwardly sharp turn — friendly overtures to the West (allowing visitors into her country, sending Russian experts to foreign countries for study, softening her radio and press attacks on the West, reducing her Army, and talking of cooperation) are the order of the day. How sincere Russia is about making this an era of goodwill and cooperation can not be said at this time, though her past history creates serious doubt about her intentions.

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THE SOVIET EMPIRE

How Is the Soviet World Organized?

Politically, the Soviet world is organized, according to the communist version, as a free association of independent republics in which two types of states are distinguished: socialist states and people's republics or people's democracies.

The U.S.S.R., by its own definition, is the only socialist state. All the other nations in the Soviet world are people's democracies. A people's democracy is defined as a proletarian dictatorship without soviets, that is, as a Soviet state at a lower level of political and economic development than the U.S.S.R.

Actually, the Soviet world is in greater part an empire ruled by the government of the Soviet Union.

The U.S.S.R. is the geographic, economic, political, and military heartland of the Soviet world.

The "people's democracies" of Albania, Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet zone of Germany, and the Mongolian and Korean People's Republics as well as the Vietnamh (formerly French Indo-China) in Asia are vassal states, satellites of the Soviet Union.

By its social system, Yugoslavia is akin to the Soviet world, but politically it claims it is in alliance with the free world.

Current opinion is divided with respect to China. In one view, China, because of its vast territory, population, and resources, and its relationship to the other nations of Asia, is the most valuable

PART II

THE SOVIET WORLD

of the Soviet satellites. In another view, based on the same considerations, China is a potential center of great power with its own satellites, equal in status to the U.S.S.R. and in many respects antagonistic to the latter's interests.

How Was the Soviet Empire Established?

Chiefly by force and chicanery.

This was the pattern:

With the help of the victorious army of the U.S.S.R., coalition governments were established in the satellite countries. Though the communists were a minority, they held the ministries controlling the police, the armed forces, and government propaganda; they penetrated rival parties and took over unions and other mass organizations. The authentic leaders of other parties were ousted or compelled to resign and the coalitions were dominated by the communists.

Non-communist parties were still tolerated on paper at this stage, but communist-controlled unions refused to print their publications and gangs broke up their meetings while the communist-controlled police looked on.

Finally, all opposition was crushed. Other parties were dissolved or absorbed by merger with the Communist Party; a monolithic regime was established and the fake "new democracy" was born.

The experience of Hungary is instructive. In the elections held in 1945, the communists, who had the active support of the Soviet occupation authorities and secret police, and who were led by men trained in Moscow, received only 17% of the vote. In the succeeding years, opposition parties were outlawed and the social democrats were forced to merge with the communists. In the 1949 elections, in order to insure a parliament properly subservient to the U.S.S.R., voters were offered only a single list of candidates, featuring the names of communists and communist puppets.

How Is the Soviet Empire Controlled?

Five principal instruments are used by the U.S.S.R. in controlling its satellites. The most powerful, although least active, is the

Soviet Army. The most active and important are the satellite Communist Parties, led by men trained in and loyal to Moscow and the Cominform, a phant tool of the Kremlin. The fourth instrument is the diplomatic corps, a direct link between the center of Soviet power and its outpost governments.

Last, but very far from least, is the secret police of the U.S.S.R., which penetrates the satellite parties and governments and keeps under surveillance the diplomatic corps and military commanders of the U.S.S.R.

A sixth method is the assignment of Soviet Russian personnel to serve in the governments of the satellite states.

The rulers of the Soviet empire can arrange, if they deem it necessary or desirable, for a satellite to "request" and be "granted" inclusion in the U.S.S.R., in accordance with the pattern established in the annexing of the Baltic states in 1940.

How Does the U.S.S.R. Exploit Its Satellites?

The U.S.S.R. exploits its satellites, which are less developed economically, in order to build, at their expense, its own economy. The principal method is integration of the economy of the satellites with the economy of the U.S.S.R. in such a way as to insure the dependence of the satellites on the Soviet Union.

The principal means employed are:

- 1) Trade treaties, providing for the export of armaments to the satellites, and for exchange of goods at prices favoring the U.S.S.R.;
- 2) Bi-national corporations, controlled by the U.S.S.R., in the major industries of the satellites; these are now in the process of dissolution initiated during the lenient phase following Stalin's death;
- 3) Loans to the satellites, control of banks issuing notes, and dependence of the satellite currencies on the ruble;
- 4) Appointment by the government in Moscow of managers, directors, advisers, and experts to key industries in the satellite countries; and

5) Control of those agencies in the satellite governments which supervise the political reliability and efficiency of workers, clerks, managers, directors — in fact, of everyone.

The Soviet Union controls the trade of the satellites with the capitalist world and is the main buyer, seller, broker and clearing house for the entire Soviet empire.

What Is Soviet Russification?

Soviet Russification is the policy by which the government of the U.S.S.R. dominates the ideological and cultural life of the satellites.

The program of Russification includes compulsory schooling for all communists in the history and ideology of the Bolshevik party, the "liberating role" of the army of the U.S.S.R., and the necessity and advantages of alliance with the Soviet Union.

It includes such measures as the organization of intellectuals into Soviet Friendship Societies to study and popularize the "achievements of Soviet science and technique."

Under the Russification program, the study of Russian as a second language is compulsory in all schools.

And films, plays, books, and musical works produced in the U.S.S.R. predominate in the satellite countries, yielding huge profits to producing and publishing establishments in the Soviet Union.

What Is the Iron Curtain?

The Iron Curtain, an expression popularized by Winston Churchill in 1946, comprises the system of controls by which the government of the U.S.S.R. isolates the population of the Soviet world from the capitalist world.

This consists of the prohibition of free communication and transit, generally across national borders which are everywhere patrolled by armed guards. Under this policy diplomats are restricted in number and in their movements. Few journalists from the free world are admitted and their dispatches are censored. The culture of the western world is decried as "bourgeois cosmopolitanism" and normal intellectual and scientific interchanges are

forbidden. Hatred of foreigners is cultivated. Tension is deliberately provoked with the other countries through the staging of spy trials involving diplomats, churchmen, and businessmen from outside the Soviet world.

One purpose of the Iron Curtain is to shroud the brutal reality of life in the Soviet world from the knowledge of the free world. Many, however, know the truth. Following World War II, more than a million men and women, forcibly taken by the Nazis from the U.S.S.R. for slave labor and as prisoners, refused to return to the Soviet Union. Numerous diplomatic officials of the Soviet world deserted to the haven of the free world. And, in the years 1952 and 1953, more than 300,000 people fled from East Germany alone, and many more joined them from other Soviet lands, bearing witness by their flight to the tyranny behind the Iron Curtain.

What Is Titoism?

Basically, Titoism, a form of communism, is a protest by a small, economically underdeveloped country against economic and political oppression by the U.S.S.R. It is affirmation of Communist nationalism against the imperialism within the Soviet world.

Tito successfully opposed Stalin's attempt to dictate Yugoslav policy and determine the rate of industrialization and collectivization in Yugoslavia. He was successful largely because the Yugoslav partisans had taken power with American and British aid and because the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. were not stationed on Yugoslav soil.

Communist critics of, and opposition to, Stalinist dictation in other satellites were unsuccessful. Traicho Kostov in Bulgaria, Laszlo Rajk in Hungary, Rudolph Slansky in Czechoslovakia, and veteran communist leaders in other satellites, who in one way or another represented the nationalist interests of their countries, were accused of Titoism and of conspiring with capitalist powers. They were executed.

What Is Maoism?

When Chiang Kai-Shek left the Chinese mainland for Formosa on December 8, 1949, the victorious Chinese Communists established

a new variant of Communism, called Maoism after their leader, Mao Tse-tung. Maoism has been taken to mean an heretic deviation from orthodox Marxism-Leninism, in that the Chinese communists allegedly stress the importance of the "peasants" instead of the "proletariats." These Chinese communists did indeed temporarily depend largely on peasant support; and in that respect Mao's tactics are a model for communist movements in other agrarian countries. However, Mao never gave up the basic Marxist-Leninist idea where the peasants, under certain conditions were at best a decisive auxiliary force. Therefore, Maoism supplements rather than deviates from Marxism-Leninism.

In the last number of years, China has made increasingly larger claims for dominance in Asia. It has actively supported with men and arms the war in Korea and has annexed Tibet by open force. In Indo-China, the Chinese communists have furnished the communist side with money and arms; and in Malaya, Thailand, and Indonesia they have, with the help of some elements among the colonies of overseas Chinese, built very active communist outposts.

In their dealings with the outside world they appear even more intransigent than their Russian comrades. Their special target is the United States, which they vilify for its support of Chiang Kai-Shek. They attempt constantly to undermine U. S. prestige in Asia by dubbing us a "paper tiger," i.e., somebody whose strength is on paper only and therefore not to be feared.

The attitude of the Chinese communists toward the Soviet Union is not without ambiguity. On the one hand, they acknowledge Moscow's ideological supremacy and proclaim the industrial achievements of the U.S.S.R. as examples to be followed by their own people. On the other hand, they have given ample evidence that they are not just Russian stooges, but that they insist on being treated as equal, though junior, partners in the communist world.

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THE TOTALITARIAN NATURE OF THE SOVIET WORLD

What Are Soviets?

The Russian word "Soviet" means simply council. The first soviet was formed spontaneously in the Russian revolution of 1905, and consisted of representatives of anti-Czarist political parties and of unions and other working class organizations; in the countryside, it also included peasants.

Subsequently, Lenin defined soviets as "organs of insurrection . . . organs of revolutionary power." After the establishment of Soviet Russia, they were redefined as "the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat." They were organized on a hierarchical and centralized basis, exercising both legislative and executive functions, with the Supreme Soviet at the apex of the governmental power structure. Under the Stalin Constitution, soviets are essentially legislative in function.

However, under both Lenin and Stalin, the soviets were only a "transmission belt" connecting the Communist Party with the population. They were "conductors of the general line of the party."

How Is the Government Selected in the Soviet World?

Nominally, by elections. But the only candidates are Communist Party nominees or candidates put up by blocs consisting of the Communist Party and organizations controlled by it. The elections, are not free and the outcome is predetermined.

Who Runs the Government in the Soviet World?

The government is run by the Communist Party. All important posts are held by communists. The most important positions are held by members of the Presidium.

The Soviet Presidium rules the U.S.S.R. and its satellites. While Stalin was alive, he was the acknowledged leader of the Presidium and of the Soviet empire. Stalin, whose real name was Yosef Djughashvili, was an old Bolshevik who joined Lenin's party before the Russian Revolution. During World War II, he assumed the premiership of the U.S.S.R. His power was greater than that of any ruler in history. He decided all important (and a vast number of lesser) questions. His decisions were considered infallible, and there was no appeal from them.

Since his death, leadership has been exercised collectively. It is difficult to predict whether a new Stalin will emerge. So far, none of his successors has been bold enough to claim that role.

What Is the Nature of Law in the Soviet World?

In the Soviet social system, the interests of the individual are subservient to the interests of the state. The distinction between private and public law, prevalent throughout the rest of the world, is rejected. In practice, the difference between government policy and law is thin or non-existent.

The primary function of Soviet law is the suppression of all private rights, the regimentation and subordination of the individual to the state and the creation of a totalitarian state.

Do Freedom of Speech, Press, and Assembly Exist in the Soviet World?

All constitutions in the Soviet world "guarantee" civil liberties. But in practice civil liberties are non-existent.

All media of mass communication are in the hands of the government. The contents of all publications and public speeches must conform to official policy. Conformity is insured by censorship and severe punishment for deviation.

Do Inhabitants of the Soviet World Have Inviolability of Their Persons and Homes?

Constitutionally, yes. In practice, no. The power of the secret police is supreme. The right of habeas corpus does not exist even on paper. People disappear suddenly from their accustomed places of work and homes and are never heard from again. Like the plaques of old, purges carry off millions to prisons, slave labor, and death.

Do Inhabitants of the Soviet World Have Freedom of Movement?

Travel between the U.S.S.R. and its satellites and among the satellites is strictly controlled.

In the U.S.S.R., as in Czarist Russia, internal passports are required for travel.

After completion of their sentences, certain categories of political offenders are not permitted to reside in the larger cities and administrative centers of the country.

Do Writers, Artists, and Scientists Have Freedom of Expression in the Soviet World?

No. In the communist view, "art is a class weapon" and so is science. Art and science must serve the interests of the state.

The general function of art is to extol life in the Soviet world; the general function of science is to develop methods for building up the Soviet world.

The Communist Party and the secret police are the final judges of artistic questions and scientific problems.

Individual works of art and the work of scientists are judged by their service to state policy. What was once approved because it fulfilled a need of the state, may later be officially condemned if the policy it served has been changed.

Artists, scholars, and scientists wear invisible uniforms in the service of the state. They are acclaimed, rewarded, criticized and purged in accordance with the shifting tides of state needs.

The casualties in the war of the Soviet state against the mind and spirit of man are legion.

Typical of the communist attitude toward science and culture was the settlement of a dispute among biologists by the politicians of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. These politicians pronounced correct the new theory of T. Lysenko that personality and cultural characteristics acquired through environmental influences could be inherited. At that time, it did not bother the central committee that all reputable biologists in the rest of the world had arrived through sound experimental evidence at a contrary conclusion. What the central committee was interested in was that Lysenko's "theory" could be used in support of the party's goal of remaking man in the image of Marxist theory.

Therefore, the teaching of formal genetics was forbidden. A purge of textbooks, scientific works, instructors, and scientists was carried out. A science was murdered and the secret police took its quota of victims for slave labor.

Though during the period following Stalin's death these restrictions were somewhat relaxed and Lysenko has been partially repudiated, the main outlines remain. Early in 1955 state supervision has been resumed almost with its former severity.

"All future advances in the sciences have been determined," exulted the *Soviet Literary Gazette* in January, 1949, "by the works of the genius of Lenin and Stalin."

What Is the Role of Education in the Soviet World?

"Education in the U.S.S.R.," reads *Pedagogy*, a textbook approved in 1946 by the Soviet government for use in training teachers, "is a weapon for strengthening the Soviet state and the building of a classless society."

"The Soviet schools cannot be satisfied to rear merely educated persons but should instill the ideology of communism in the mind of the young generation, shape a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and inculcate the spirit of Soviet patriotism and Bolshevik ideas," declared the publication *Cultural Life* in August, 1947.

The schools, dictates *Pedagogy*, must turn out "organization-

“minded and disciplined” people full of “love of our Motherland . . . and of our glorious Communist party and its leaders . . .”

These precepts also govern education in the satellite states.

Under this system, the Communist Party is the formulator of educational policy which is continuously revised in accordance with the changing needs of the regime.

The lower schools are instruments of indoctrination and propaganda; institutions of higher learning are Communist Party seminars. The courts are, in effect, catechisms in communist ideology.

History is continually rewritten and textbooks revised as the communists falsify past and present in accordance with the changing needs of their strategic situation. Thus, for example, after Beria's execution all mention of his name was excised from Communist encyclopedias.

Critical attitudes and free inquiry are forbidden.

“ . . . objectivism and the impartial assembling of economic facts is inadmissible,” said the publication *Bolshevik*. In 1947, *Cultural Life* declared the “spirit of political indifference, impartiality and academic neutrality” are “impermissible” and result in “the distortion of historical truth.”

Academic freedom does not exist.

Is Education Free and Compulsory in the Soviet World?

In theory, elementary education is free and compulsory in the Soviet world.

Actually, it is neither. Under the law in the U.S.S.R., attendance in elementary schools is compulsory, but in 1948 about ten million children of school age were not in school. This was an increase in truancy of more than three hundred percent in less than a decade. A majority of children over twelve years of age were not in school. Presumably they were engaged in industry and agriculture.

Attendance is curtailed by a combination of circumstances and state policy. Textbooks, school supplies, and uniforms which children

must wear are not free, and their relatively high cost to impoverished workers and peasants discourages the attendance of their children in school. Tuition fees in the upper grades of secondary schools and in institutions of higher learning result in such schools being peopled largely by the children of the upper strata of Soviet society.

On the other hand, large numbers of children of working class and peasant families are drafted for training in specialized vocational schools, called Labor Reserve Schools, after which they work in industry for four years under assignment by the state.

Thus, education in the Soviet world, far from aiding in the “building of a classless society,” is an instrument for the breaking down of the population into rigid social strata or classes.

Do Inhabitants of the Soviet World Enjoy Freedom of Worship?

No. This, however, does not prevent communists, when it suits their purpose, from posing as pious religious worshippers. In 1946, for example, while the Moscow radio was busy denouncing the Pope as a “tool of fascism” and “a shepherd who protects wolves from sheep,” communists made an attempt to infiltrate the Roman Catholic Church. In New York City, the Soviet Delegate to the United Nations, Andrei Gromyko, attended mass in Saint Patrick's Cathedral. In Italy, at this time, thousands of Stalinists joined the church. Attendance at mass became an acceptable excuse for absence from Communist Party meetings.

A similar flexibility in tactics characterizes communist policy toward religion behind the Iron Curtain. Soviet constitutions “guarantee” freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda. Between this nicely balanced phraseology and the reality of communist policy, however, there are wide discrepancies.

Following the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, the Soviet government began a systematic persecution of the Orthodox Church, which for centuries, under the Czars, had been the only recognized religious body in Russia. When Stalin became absolute master of the Soviet state, and the state became a totalitarian autocracy, Stalin revived the old Czarist pattern of state and church relationships. He acquired

full control of the church, and the church became an instrument of the state. During World War II, atheist publications were discontinued, while priests accompanied troops to the front. While the legal position of the church has been restored and it enjoys greater latitude than in the first years of the Soviet Union, religious schools, societies and parishes are still forbidden. Every church building is required to display a Red flag, and when Stalin was alive, a picture or icon of him.

After the war, the Soviet state established the supremacy of the Russian church over the Orthodox churches in the satellite countries. Thus was forged another weapon for control of the Soviet empire. It also aided Soviet religious and political maneuvers among people of the Orthodox faith in lands beyond the Iron Curtain, notably the Near East.

What Is Communist Policy Toward Religion in the Satellite Countries?

The principal element in communist policy toward religion in the satellite countries is the drive of the state to obtain control of the church and make it subservient to government purposes.

Although all churches in the satellite states suffer under the impact of ruthless communist persecution, world public attention has centered on the conflict between these governments and the Catholic Church. The Orthodox churches have been taken over, and Protestant influence is only a minor factor. But the Roman Catholic Church, with its widespread educational system, its world center in Rome, and its enormous influence on world public opinion, proved a formidable opponent. Despite its serious losses and weakened position, the Catholic Church in the satellite countries remains a center of resistance to communist power.

Is Communism Compatible With Religion?

No. Communism and religion are irreconcilable. Communism, in theory and practice, is atheistic. It regards religion, in the well-known phrase of Marx, as "the opium of the people."

The Judeo-Christian tradition treats each man as being individually important. Communism does the exact opposite — it treats man as an instrument of the state. "All phrases about equal rights

are nonsense." (Lenin). This basically anti-religious statement is opposed to the Bible's precept that to deprive a man of his freedom is considered equivalent to murder. (Exodus 21.16).

Few enemies of Judeo-Christian ethics have been as unashamed as the Communists in expressing their own amoral philosophy. "Communist ethics make it the highest duty to accept the necessity of acting wickedly . . . Evil transforms itself into good through the dialectic of History." (George Lukacz, Commissar of Education in the post-World War I Bolshevik government of Hungary). This is in direct contrast to one of the basic tenets of the Judeo-Christian tradition. The Talmud, for instance, says that "a good deed performed by means of a sin is invalid."

Thus, no truly religious person, whether Christian or Jew, can possibly accept communism. A doctrine which believes that "To us everything is permitted" (Lenin) is totally irreconcilable with one which requires of its adherents that "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." (Leviticus 19.18).

How Are National Minorities Treated in the Soviet World?

Communist propaganda boasts that only in the Soviet world are national minorities free of oppression. The record belies communist propaganda.

In recent times, "autonomous republics" in the U.S.S.R. have been abolished by decree and "politically unreliable" population groups — millions of Volga Germans, Poles, Letts, Estonians, Lithuanians, Crimean Tartars, Greeks from the Black Sea region of the U.S.S.R., Germans from East Prussia, and others — have been forcibly uprooted from their homes and transported under inhuman conditions to remote regions for slave labor.

Strategic border regions have been repopulated with Russians and other population groups considered politically reliable.

The oppression of national minorities is also a practice of the satellites.

What Is Birobidjan?

In the late 1920's, the Soviet government initiated on the

Siberian-Chinese border the Jewish settlement of the province of Birobidjan. As stated officially, it was to be an agricultural settlement for urban Jews. Its unstated purpose was to counteract the large numbers of Chinese who had been infiltrating the province.

In the early years, only 30,000 Jews immigrated to the harsh climate of Birobidjan, and in order to attract greater numbers, the Soviet propaganda machine began hailing the area as a new national homeland for the Soviet Jews. This had no pronounced effect on immigration to the area, however. By 1948, with the rise of official sentiment against the Jews, the policy of the government was reversed. All Jewish schools and publications were closed down and a purge of Jewish leaders was carried out in 1949-50.

Estimates as to the present size of the Jewish population of Birobidjan vary. Some authorities place it as low as 40,000. The Jews in that area constitute 25 per cent of the territory's inhabitants, the rest consisting of Tartars, Ukrainians, and Russians. After a quarter of century of settlement in this "Jewish territory," no cultural Jewish institutions of any kind are left. There is neither a Jewish school nor a Jewish theatre, but only one dilapidated synagogue without a rabbi. As late as June, 1954, a Jewish newspaper with a circulation of 1,000 was issued three times a week, and there were two weekly, one-hour-long broadcasts in Yiddish.

What Is the U.S.S.R.'s General Attitude Toward Jews?

Under communist despotism, Jews endure a fourfold difficulty. They are the victims of religious, cultural, national, and economic oppression.

For about three decades very little came to light about the real situation of Jews in the Soviet Union. The world took at face value the Soviet legal code's definition of anti-Semitism as a crime. No special importance was attached to the indifference with which the Soviet government, in common with other governments, watched first the persecution and then the extermination of the Jews in Hitler's Germany. The borders of the "socialist fatherland" were not opened to Jews.

Following the partition of Poland by Hitler and Stalin, the Soviet government barred the escape of hundreds of thousands of

Jews fleeing eastward before the onrushing Nazi hordes. And it deported hundreds of thousands of Jews from its own "sphere of influence" in Poland to slave labor in the interior of the U.S.S.R.

What Has Happened to Jewish Institutions in the U.S.S.R.?

After World War II, the position of Soviet Jews deteriorated rapidly. Jewish schools were closed. The teaching of Yiddish and Hebrew was discontinued. All Jewish organizations were dissolved and all periodicals and publications dealing with Jewish problems were suppressed. A purge of Jewish intellectuals was carried out. Relations between Soviet Jews, who were warned not to identify themselves with Israel, and Jewish communities in other parts of the world, were forbidden. Large numbers of Jews were forcibly deported for slave labor in the interior of Russia.

What Is the Economic Status of Jews in the Satellite Countries?

Under the communization programs of the Soviet satellites, large numbers of Jews, who in prewar times were engaged in trade, have been declassified, deprived of their means of making a living, and left to eke out a miserable existence by disposing of their possessions on the open market. Also, the property of many Jewish communities has been "voluntarily" donated to the state.

What Has Happened to Jewish Institutions in the Satellite Countries?

Generally, throughout the satellites, all formerly independent Jewish religious, educational and social activities have been nationalized and are operated by Communist party members or have been abolished. All Jewish political parties have been dissolved. The number of Jewish schools is dwindling. In some countries the teaching of Hebrew is forbidden. In Hungary, Jewish teachers have been ousted from the public school system and Jewish pupils are compelled to attend school on the Sabbath.

Jewish charity organizations, including orphanages, children's

homes and hospitals have been liquidated. Jewish foreign relief organizations have been ousted. Jewish papers are permitted to publish only communist views. Government spies sit in the synagogues, many of which have been invaded and desecrated.

Anti-Semitic attacks by communist cabinet members are not uncommon in Hungary, where pogroms took place in the winter of 1950-51. Hungarian Jews and others "dangerous to the security of the state" were deported for forced labor.

How Has Anti-Semitism Been Expressed in the Official Press?

There is no such thing as an independent journal in the Soviet Union. Everything published in the U.S.S.R. for popular consumption is rigidly controlled by the state, and every opinion expressed in a newspaper is equivalent to an official opinion. It is therefore interesting to note that both *Culture and Life* and the *Literary Gazette*, leading cultural periodicals of the U.S.S.R., initiated in 1949 an editorial policy which effectively brought the real government attitude toward the Jews into the open.

In articles dealing with "pernicious" western influences which had been "contaminating" Soviet literature, both publications listed a large number of writers who were suspect. In each case the Jewish writers whose pen-names appeared on this list were additionally identified by their original names, all of which were immediately identifiable as of Jewish origin. Interestingly enough, the magazines did not find it necessary to supply the original names of the non-Jewish writers. But the full extent of Communist anti-Semitism was revealed in the Prague show trials and in the so-called "doctor's plot."

During the month of November, 1952, the Czech communists staged a mammoth show trial. Eleven of the fourteen defendants were Jews, all of them veteran communists. They included the Secretary General of the Communist Party, Rudolph Slansky; the editor of the Communist newspaper *Rude Pravo*, Andre Simon; and nine other officials in various government departments. The most significant aspect of the trial was the fact that the defendants were tried not as individuals, but as Jews. They were accused of being agents of a world-wide "Jewish bourgeois nationalistic plot." They were forced to confess that they had become traitors and con-

spirators because of their Jewish bourgeois origin. Although all their lives they had been violent opponents of Zionism, they were forced to admit that they had acted for the benefit of the Zionist movement. Even the three non-Jewish defendants, including the former Foreign Minister Clementis, "confessed" as their main crime that they had placed "Zionist agents" in their offices.

The defendants also had to accept the blame for food rationing, lack of bread, lack of electricity, continued low wages and high prices, and the failure of government plans. A fantastic treason charge linked them with an imaginary spy net masterminded by President Truman, Dean Acheson, Israel Premier Ben-Gurion, Israeli Foreign Minister Sharett and U. S. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

These "legal" procedures were accompanied by anti-Semitic outbursts in the press of a virulence unknown in the history of Czechoslovakia. When, on December 4, 1952, the trial ended with the hanging of 11 of the 14 accused, the myth of communist tolerance of minorities was shattered even for the most gullible.

One month later, nine doctors, most of them Jews, were seized in Moscow on the charge of plotting against prominent government leaders. Again the trial was accompanied by outspoken anti-Semitic editorials in the Moscow press. During the trial the accused "admitted" all charges, including killing the late Andre Zhdanov.

After Stalin's death, in a sudden turn-about, the "guilty" men were completely exonerated, the plot declared fictitious and their "confessions" revealed to have been the result of torture.

What Is the Soviet Attitude Toward Zionism?

In classic communist doctrine, Zionism is a "counter-revolutionary movement of the Jewish bourgeoisie," which divides the working class along nationalist lines and imperils their revolutionary unity. Zionism has long been persecuted in the U.S.S.R. In Palestine the communists incited pogroms by the Arabs against the Jews.

However, during the struggle of the Jews against the British in Palestine after World War II, the Soviet satellites encouraged emigration to Israel, in order to weaken British power in the Near

East. The Soviet Union, however, prevented emigration of "its" Jews.

Subsequently, when the state of Israel was created, and resisted Soviet domination, Soviet policy toward Zionism hardened again. Emigration from the satellites was impeded or stopped altogether. Great numbers of Jews were arbitrarily removed from large cities in some satellites and resettled on the land.

How Is Law Enforced in the Soviet World?

Two complementary systems of law enforcement are employed in the Soviet social system. One is the customary method of police and courts. The other is terrorism.

What Is the Role of Courts in the Soviet World?

Theoretically the courts in the Soviet system are set up for the fair trial and sentencing of offenders. However, they are not independent of other branches of the government, as in the United States, but are regarded as instruments of state policy.

No decisions adverse to state policy are ever made by the judges. The outcome of trials involving important economic and political issues is predetermined by the Presidium. Virtually all judges are communists.

In the Soviet world, trials are often staged for propaganda purposes to support the domestic and foreign policies of the government.

In the purge trials of 1935-1939 in the U.S.S.R., when the policy of the Soviet government was anti-fascist, the defendants were accused of treason and spying on behalf of Germany.

In the trials held in the satellite states during the "cold war," the defendants were accused of spying on behalf of "Anglo-American imperialism."

What Is the MVD?

The MVD, successor to the NKVD, OGPU, GPU, and Cheka, is the secret police of the U.S.S.R.

Its chief function is to insure blind obedience through terrorism. Stalin characterized it as "the unsheathed sword of the revolution."

The MVD has vast powers. It is frequently described as a state within a state. It has its own independent budget within the general state budget. It maintains its own armed forces, including air, tank and infantry divisions. It guards the borders of the U.S.S.R. It rounds up for deportation to Siberia and northern Russia "politically unreliable" population groups.

The MVD spies on the entire population of the Soviet Union. It keeps watch over all officials and representatives of the party and state, and of economic, social, and cultural institutions. And it also watches over the officers of the armed forces of the U.S.S.R.

Among the most dreaded powers of the MVD are summary arrest and indefinite detention; imposition of sentence by decree in the absence of the defendant; prolonged interrogation and torture in the extraction of confessions; secret trials of "enemies of the people," that is, persons accused of political crimes; and secret executions.

The MVD is the recruiting agency for the slave-labor industries. It administers the slave-labor camps.

It maintains careful watch over the communist movement outside the U.S.S.R. and of the satellite governments. It assassinates dangerous opponents of the government of the U.S.S.R. abroad and it may execute citizens of the Soviet Union abroad who refuse to return to the U.S.S.R. and who, under Soviet law, are subject to shooting within twenty-four hours following identification.

Are Communism and Fascism the Same?

Soviet communism and fascism are forms of totalitarianism, the antithesis of democracy. In many respects they are identical; in others, they are poles apart.

The principal points of identity are the absolute power of the state over all economic, political, social, and cultural activities; the complete subordination of the individual to the state; the abolition of civil rights and individual liberty; regimentation and terrorization of the population; and slave labor.

The main differences are found in the economic bases and ideologies of the two systems. Under fascism, the economy is organized on the basis of private property. Under communism, the means of production, exchange and distribution are national property. Fascist ideology is, in the main, a frank glorification of nationalist supremacy and aggressive power. Communist ideology is a deceitful and deceiving perversion of the ideals of "World Brotherhood" and "Sharing."

In practice, fascism and communism are, at bottom, deadly enemies. At times, they cooperate for the realization of temporary mutually advantageous purposes. But where either is in power, it exterminates the other.

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CHAPTER VII

ECONOMY AND LABOR IN THE SOVIET WORLD

Who Controls the Means of Production in the Soviet World?

In the U.S.S.R. all the principal means of production, exchange and distribution are "socialist property." Ownership and control are vested in the state.

In the satellite states and China, the transformation of private property into "socialist property" is not complete and is still in process.

What Are the Five-Year Plans?

The five-year plans are "state national economic plans." They are regarded, in the Soviet World, as the principal factor in the transformation from the dictatorship of the proletariat to socialism, and from socialism to communism.

The plans provide for rapid industrialization and for collectivization and mechanization of agriculture. They aim at systematic exploitation of the vast resources of the Soviet world. The plans set production goals in each industry and plant, provide a standard for increasing production, set standards of quality, fix prices, and make allotments for wages and social services.

What Have Been the Results of the Five-Year Plans in the U.S.S.R.?

The principal results of the five-year plans in the U.S.S.R. include:

Transformation of an economically backward country into the second greatest industrial nation of the world;
Increased urbanization of the population and creation of hundreds of new cities;

Increase in the size and proportion in the population of the working class;

Partial transformation of the peasant into a collective farmer and agricultural proletarian;

The incalculable human cost at which these material gains were made can only be guessed at in terms of the following:

Creation of a new class of 20 million slave laborers as an integral part of Soviet economy.

Expansion of the Secret Police to enforce compliance.

The uprooting and deportation of millions of peasants.

Creation of a new bureaucracy of party functionaries and military personnel.

Continued low standard of living for the majority of the people.

What Is the Position of the Peasant in the Soviet World?

Peasants comprise an overwhelming majority of the population of the Soviet world.

The peasant is the main target of the communist plan of social development. The aim of communist policy is to transform the peasant into an agrarian worker. In the meantime, the peasant is the principal source of slave labor.

Peasant support of communism is won by land reform — the expropriation of large landholdings and their distribution among the peasants.

After a time, varying in length according to circumstances, the peasants are induced, coerced, or forced at gunpoint into collective farms where they work under state direction and control.

The production of the collectives is the property of the collectives. A fixed proportion is sold to the state at prices set by

the state. Another portion is taken by the state in payment of various services and for various funds. The net income is distributed among the peasants of the collectives, partly in money, partly in kind, in proportion to the quantity and quality of their work, at rates determined by the state.

Collective farmers are permitted to cultivate crops and raise livestock on their own small garden plots. They are also permitted to dispose of a part of their private production on the open market.

Whenever, in consequence, peasant income rises, the state increases agricultural taxes. The revaluation of the ruble in 1947 was especially designed to decrease the value of the peasant's cash savings by 90%. The peasant in the Soviet world lives a life of drab poverty. On more than one occasion, famine, resulting from the perpetual antagonism between the state and the peasants in the U.S.S.R., has carried off millions of peasants. Millions more were driven from their homes to become slave laborers.

A small number of state farms are operated by the government of the U.S.S.R. with agrarian workers who receive wages and are in fact agricultural proletarians.

What Is Labor's Standard of Living in the Soviet World?

The Statistical Office of the United Nations reported on December 3, 1950, on the basis of official reports, that with the exception of Poland, a Soviet satellite, the Soviet Union has the lowest per capita income of all industrialized and semi-industrialized nations of the world. National income per capita in the Soviet Union was equivalent to \$308 a year in 1949 U.S. dollars.

A Bureau of Labor Statistics study estimated that in the Spring of 1953 a Moscow worker had to work up to twenty-five times as much as a worker in New York to buy basic foods, and up to twenty times as much to buy basic clothing.

Labor's income in the Soviet Union is lower than the national per capita average. In theory, a comprehensive system of social services supplements labor's income. In practice, the social services benefit only a minority of workers.

While the state concentrates on heavy industry and armaments,

labor suffers from an acute and chronic shortage of housing and consumer goods.

Can a Worker Choose His Place of Work in the Soviet World?

Only within narrowing limits. Since 1940 the government of the Soviet Union has followed the practice of transferring skilled workers from plant to plant without regard to the workers' wishes.

The graduates of the Labor Reserve Schools are required to work for four years at the direction of the government.

Can a Worker Quit His Job in the Soviet World?

Only for reasons approved by the state, and only with the permission of his plant managers.

Leaving a job without permission is a criminal offense in the U. S. S. R. The punishment is imprisonment for two to four years.

Workers in the transportation industries work under martial law; those who leave their jobs without permission are tried by court martial and may be sentenced to prison for five to eight years.

How Are Lateness and Absenteeism by Workers Punished in the Soviet World?

In the U.S.S.R., a worker who is late more than twenty minutes three times in a month, or four times in two months, is considered unjustifiably absent. He may be sentenced to as much as six months' compulsory labor at his regular place of employment and, during the period of his sentence, he receives only 75% of his normal wages.

How Are Wages Determined in the Soviet World?

By the state.

The government makes an allocation for wages, industry by industry, in the five-year plan. Administrative and managerial personnel and workers are bound by the allocation.

Piece rates prevail as the method of paying labor in the Soviet

world. This method, against which labor in the free world has long struggled as unjust, enables the Soviet state continually to speed up production. As productivity is increased, piece rates are lowered. "The reduction of pay rates," said the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party in 1947, "is an indispensable condition for the reduction of production costs."

Do Workers in the Soviet World Have the Right to Collective Bargaining?

Collective bargaining is used by the state to achieve increased productivity, speed up the workers, improve labor discipline, safety conditions, and recreational facilities. Wages, hours, and other matters of vital concern to workers are excluded from the scope of collective agreements. In the sense in which collective bargaining is understood in the free world, as a means of determining the rates and conditions of work, it is non-existent in the Soviet world.

Do Workers in the Soviet World Have the Right to Strike?

The law in the Soviet world does not forbid strikes, but the secret police do. Strikes are virtually unknown in the U.S.S.R. They are suppressed by force in the satellite states.

Do Labor Unions Exist in the Soviet World?

Organizations called labor unions are a prominent feature of industrial relations in the Soviet world. The membership of these unions is estimated at considerably more than fifty million, which is more than the number of unionists in the free world.

In name and structure, these unions are like the unions outside the Soviet orbit. In function, however, they are not voluntary organizations of workers dedicated to the improvement of the position of their members, as are the unions in the free world.

In theory, membership in unions in the Soviet world is voluntary. But the disadvantages of non-membership are so marked as to constitute an overwhelming incentive for joining. Membership in the U.S.S.R. is as high as 90% of those eligible for membership. Slave laborers are ineligible.

The role of trade unions in the Soviet world is based on the belief that a union movement free to act in behalf of its members' interests is incompatible with economic planning. In addition to insuring labor discipline and increasing productivity, they also act as direct government agents in the administration of social-insurance benefits, "carry out control over the condition of labor safeguards and safety techniques, negotiate collective agreements with the administration of enterprises, and perform other prescribed tasks."

The unions in the Soviet world are run by the Communist Party. All leading positions in these unions are held by communists, and units of the Communist Party function in all union bodies. Unions in the Soviet world are instruments of the state for the enslavement of the workers.

What Is Soviet Slave Labor?

The policy of State ownership of human beings as instruments of production is an essential feature of the Soviet state. From the never-ending stream of political "enemies of the state" and "unco-operative" workers come most of the millions who have been thus reduced to sub-human status.

Soviet slave labor is the final form of the complete subordination of the individual to the State.

How Did Slave Labor Originate in the U.S.S.R.?

Slave labor in the Soviet Union developed from the institution of correctional labor, established after the revolution for the avowed purpose of the social rehabilitation of criminals and class enemies.

It developed in consequence of two principal factors.

One was the need, as a result of the high cost of production and low level of productivity in industry under the five-year plans, of finding a way of reducing the overall cost of production in the Soviet economy.

The second factor was the availability of a large potential labor force, created by the forcible deportation in the early 1930's of millions of peasants who resisted collectivization.

Thereafter, slave labor assumed increasingly large proportions.

The supply of slave laborers was replenished and enlarged by political offenders, their relatives, persons caught up for various reasons in the periodic purges, peasants who resisted government policies, "politically unreliable" national-minority population groups, and prisoners of war.

The exact number of slave laborers is unknown. The Soviet government does not publish statistics on the size of the slave population. That it constitutes millions of human beings is a staggering fact. The number of slave laborers in the U.S.S.R. is estimated as high as 20,000,000 by some students of the problem.

The entire slave-labor program is directed by the MVD which, in consequence, is the largest single employer of labor in the world.

What Kind of Work Do Slave Laborers Perform?

The entire production of slave labor is planned. Planned slave labor is an integral feature of planned economy in the Soviet world.

From 10% to more than 75% of the output of various industries is produced by slave labor. This class of workers is exclusively used in the construction of atomic developments in the U.S.S.R. and is the predominant form of labor in gold mining, accounting for 75% of Soviet output.

Slave labor is used extensively in the construction of railroad lines, canals, important paved roads, and defense works. It is also an important factor in the extraction of coal, petroleum, and metallic ores generally. It is used in transportation; about 25% of all towage along the Arctic Sea route is performed by slave labor. Manufacturing industries also make use of such workers.

Are Slave Laborers Remunerated?

No. They live and work in vast camps, surrounded by barbed wire and patrolled by the MVD.

They are clothed in rags, fed a ration which is increased or decreased in accordance with the quantity of work performed, receive virtually no medical attention and no social services, and have no rights. They are regarded only as instruments of production and large numbers are literally worked to death.

As Jerry Glikson comments in his book *Tell the West*, "So hard are living conditions there (in the slave labor camps) that

all human effort is expended in the struggle for survival, in the fight to pull through and, at least, keep alive. The work forced upon the inmates is far above their endurance, and instead of morally raising the individual, it makes of every prisoner a dazed, unhappy working beast . . . With primitive machinery and working methods, mostly in severe climates, making use of undernourished, inexperienced slave labor, the quotas assigned for the camps are wholly unattainable. Work becomes the most wretched punishment, a veritable curse . . . In practice, the living, feeling, and thinking human being does not exist."

An official Soviet handbook of directions for the running of a concentration camp allots 1,292 calories per day for each worker and 1,184 calories a day for the watchdog. The minimum caloric need of a man weighing 154 pounds is estimated in civilized countries at 2,500 calories if he does sedentary work. Half this amount — and in practice often less — for a man working in the Siberian cold at heavy labor is a starvation diet.

If the work quota has not been fulfilled, calories drop to 716 a day.

Elinor Lipper, author of *Eleven Years in Soviet Prison Camps*, in sworn testimony, reported on conditions in the infamous Kolyma gold fields in northeastern Siberia, where she spent many years:

"There they work 12 to 14 hours a day in temperatures of 15 degrees below zero . . . The women, who are also used as miners or to cut wood, work up to the waist in snow. And the little piece of bread that you receive at the end of the day depends on the work that you have done. When you receive less bread, you become weak and do even less work. Thus, you end up in one of the large hospitals where the majority die of starvation."

Thousands of similar affidavits of former Soviet slave laborers testify to the truth of these tragic revelations.

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CONCLUSION

Men of good will continue to hope for a world of freedom, peace, security and happiness. Hope and high purpose are imperishable and give the strength to endure, to keep from despair in a world not yet as pure as it might be.

But the earth, which physically exists half in darkness, half in light, is also politically divided into two worlds: the dark world of communist slavery, and the free world which, imperfect though it may be, yet strives for social progress.

Between these two worlds there is a continuing struggle for men's minds. Rampant communism thirsts for world domination. It mocks man's dreams and imperils the achievements of centuries of toil and sacrifice by the peoples of the world.

In these circumstances, the belief in a better world runs hand in hand with the search for means to overcome the menace of communism. Thus, it becomes the responsibility of every citizen in a democracy to understand the real meaning of communism. That is the reason for this Freedom Pamphlet.

The struggle between the free world and communism involves all mankind. For human society, like 19th century America, cannot, in the words of Lincoln "endure permanently half slave and half free." In the end, either communism will encompass the world, reducing man to ant-like slavery, and initiating a new age of darkness; or it will be forced to yield to the march of democratically inspired events. Only an informed democracy will insure "that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth," and create the possibility of a "new birth of freedom" for all mankind.

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